TAMIL CULTURE

Vol. XI - 1964

தனிநாயகம் அடிகளார்



உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனம்
International Institute of Tamil Studies



"அறிவுச் செல்வங்கள் அனைத்தையும்
தமிழுக்குக் கொண்டுவர வேண்டும்.
இனிவரும் நூற்றாண்டுகளுக்கும்
அருந்தமிழை ஆற்றல் படுத்த வேண்டும்"

- மாண்புமிகு தமிழ்நாடு முதலமைச்சர்
புரட்சித் தலைவி
அம்மா அவர்கள்

TAMIL CULTURE

Vol. XI - 1964

ஆசிரியர் :

தனிநாயகம் அடிகளார்



உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனம்

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF TAMIL STUDIES

இரண்டாம் முதன்மைச் சாலை, மையத் தொழில்நுட்பப் பயிலக வளாகம்

தரமணி, சென்னை - 600 113

நூல் விவரக் குறிப்பு

நூல் தலைப்பு	: TAMIL CULTURE Vol. XI - 1964
பதிப்பாசிரியர்	: தனிநாயகம் அடிகளார்
வெளியீட்டாளரும் பதிப்புரிமையும்	: உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனம் இரண்டாம் முதன்மை சாலை மையத்தொழில்நுட்பப் பயிலக வளாகம் தரமணி, சென்னை - 600 113.
தொலைபேசி எண்	: 044 22542992
வெளியீட்டு எண்	: 837
மொழி	: ஆங்கிலம், தமிழ்
பதிப்பு ஆண்டு	: 2014 : முதற்பதிப்பு :
பயன்படுத்திய தாள்	: 16 கிகி டி.என்.பி.எல்.வெள்ளை
நூலின் அளவு	: 1/8 டெம்மி
எழுத்தின் அளவு	: 11 புள்ளி
பக்க எண்ணிக்கை	: 452
அச்சுப்படிகளின் எண்ணிக்கை	: 1200
விலை	: ரூ. 300 (ரூபாய் முந்நூறு மட்டும்) : $10 USD
ISBN	: 978-93-85165-48-1
பொருண்மை	: முத்திங்கள் இதழ்
அச்சகம்	: ராஜ் எண்டர்பிரைஸஸ் திருவல்லிக்கேணி சென்னை - 600 005.

முனைவர் **கோ.விசயராகவன்** எம்.ஏ., எம்.ஃபில்.,எம்.பி.ஏ.,பி.எட்., பிஎச்.டி.

இயக்குநர்

உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனம்

சென்னை 600 113

அணிந்துரை

காலத்தால் உருவாகியும் வளர்ந்தும் முதிர்ந்தும் மொழிகளுக்கெல்லாம் மூத்த மொழியாக இருப்பது தமிழ்மொழி, எனினும் அதன் இளமையையும் எளிமையையும் தெளிவையும், இனிமையையும் உலகறியச் செய்ய முனைப்புடன் செயல்பட்ட அறிஞர் பெருமக்கள் பலர். அவர்களுள் "திறமான புலமையெனில் வெளிநாட்டார் அதை வணக்கம் செய்தல் வேண்டும்" என்ற மகாகவியின் மந்திர மொழிக்கேற்பத் தமிழ்மொழியின் பெருமையை உலகமெலாம் பரவச் செய்த பெருமக்களுள் தவத்திரு ***தனிநாயக அடிகளாரும்*** *ஒருவர். அவர் உலக நாடுகளுக்கெல்லாம் தாமே தூதாகச் சென்று தமிழின் பெருமையை, தமிழனின் அருமையை, தமிழ்நாட்டின் தனித்தன்மையை எடுத்துக் கூறித் தமிழின் உயர்மொழிப் பண்பை உலகறியச் செய்தவர். உலகத்தமிழ் ஆராய்ச்சி நிறுவனம் தோன்றக் காரணமானவர்.*

உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி மாநாடுகள் காணச் செய்தவர். ஈழத்தில் 02.08.1913இல் நாகநாத கணபதி பிள்ளைக்கும் (ஹென்றி ஸ்தனிஸ்லாஸ்) சிசில் இராசம்மா வஸ்தியா பிள்ளைக்கும் திருமகனாகத் தோன்றியவர். உலகெங்கும் சென்று உயர்தமிழுக்கு உரிய பெருமை கிடைக்கப் பாடுபட்டவர்.

தவத்திரு தனிநாயக அடிகளார் உலக நாடுகளுக்குச் சென்று தமிழ்மொழியின், தமிழ் இனத்தின் பெருமையை

உலகறியச் செய்தபோது ஆய்வாளர்களும் தமிழ் ஆர்வலர்களும் தமிழ் ஆராய்ச்சி இதழொன்று ஆங்கிலத்தில் வெளியிட வேண்டும் என்ற கருத்தினை அவரிடம் தெரிவித்தார்கள்.

அதன் பயனாக உலக நாடுகளில் பணியாற்றிவரும் தமிழறிஞர்களை ஒருங்கிணைத்துத் தமிழாராய்ச்சியை ஒருமுகப்படுத்தவும், வளப்படுத்தவும் 1952இல் Tamil Culture என்னும் முத்திங்கள் இதழை அடிகளார் தொடங்கினார். அவ் இதழில் தமிழ்ப்பண்பாடு, தமிழர் கல்விநிலை, தமிழர்களின் சிந்தனைச் செழுமை பற்றிய கட்டுரைகளைச் சமகால மேலைநாட்டு இலக்கியத் திறனாய்வுக் கோட்பாடுகளுக்கேற்ப அடிகளார் எழுதினார். மேலும் பல மேநாட்டறிஞர்களின் கட்டுரைகளையும் இடம்பெறச் செய்தார். அவருடைய நூற்றாண்டு விழா, **மாண்புமிகு முதலமைச்சர் புரட்சித் தலைவி அம்மா** அவர்களின் மேலான ஆணைப்படி தமிழ்நாடு அரசின் சார்பில் உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனத்தில் சிறப்பாக நடத்தப்பட்டது. அவர் தொடர்புடைய நூல்கள் வெளியிடப்பட்டு அவரது தமிழ்ப்பணி போற்றப்பட்டது.

தவத்திரு தனிநாயக அடிகளாரை ஆசிரியராகக் கொண்டு 1952 ஆம் ஆண்டு முதல் முத்திங்களிதழாக Tamil Culture என்னும் இதழ் வெளிவந்தது. இவ்விதழின் தொகுப்புகள் இன்று உங்கள் கரங்களில் தவழ்கின்றன.

இவ்விதழ்கள் தமிழ்த் தொண்டு பரவுசீர்க் கருத்துக் கருவூலங்கள்; காலங் காலமாக நாடெங்கும் ஒளிவீசக் கூடியவைகள்; அருகிவரும் தமிழாய்வுக் களங்களுக்கு கலங்கரை விளக்கொளிகள்; அரிதின் முயன்று அன்னைத் தமிழ் வளர்த்த தவத்திரு தனிநாயக அடிகளாரின் Tamil Culture முத்திங்கள் இதழ்களை ஆண்டுவாரியாக ஒன்றுதிரட்டித் தொகுப்பு நூல்களாக வெளியிடப்படுகின்றன.

தமிழறிஞர்களின் தமிழ்த் தொண்டினை எப்போதும் பாராட்டுவதில் முதன்மையானவர் **மாண்புமிகு தமிழ்நாடு முதலமைச்சர் புரட்சித் தலைவி அம்மா** அவர்கள் ஆவார். மாண்புமிகு அம்மா அவர்கள் தமிழ் மீதும் தமிழர் மீதும் தமிழ்நாட்டின் மீதும் தமிழ்ப் பண்பாட்டின் மீதும்

கொண்டுள்ள அன்பும் கருணையும் அளப்பரியன. ஆதலால், இவற்றின் மேம்பாட்டுக்கெனப் பல திட்டங்களை மேற்கொண்டு வருகின்றார்கள். ஒல்லும் வகையெல்லாம் தமிழ் வளர்த்து வரும் **மாண்புமிகு தமிழ்நாடு முதலமைச்சர் புரட்சித்தலைவி அம்மா** அவர்களுக்கு உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனத்தின் சார்பில் நன்றிகளைப் பதிவு செய்கின்றேன்.

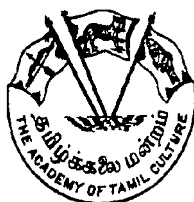
தமிழ் மொழி வளர்ச்சிக்கு ஆக்கமும் ஊக்கமும் அளித்துவரும் மாண்புமிகு தமிழ் ஆட்சிமொழி, தமிழ்ப் பண்பாட்டுத் துறை, தொல்லியல் துறை (ம) பள்ளிக் கல்வித் துறை அமைச்சர் கே. சி. வீரமணி அவர்களுக்கும் நன்றி.

தமிழ் வளர்ச்சிப் பணிகளில் ஆர்வத்தோடு நாட்டம் செலுத்தித் தமிழ்த் தொண்டாற்றிவரும் தமிழ்வளர்ச்சி மற்றும் செய்தித்துறைச் செயலாளர் முனைவர் மூ.இராசாராம் இ.ஆ.ப. அவர்களுக்கும் இதயம் கனிந்த நன்றியினைத் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்கிறேன்.

இந்நூல் சிறப்பான முறையில் மறு அச்சுப் பெற முனைந்து உழைத்த உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவன அனைத்துப் பணியாளர்களுக்கும் அச்சகத்தார்க்கும் என் நன்றி.

இயக்குநர்

Vol. XI, No. 1



JAN.—MAR. 1964

TAMIL CULTURE

JOURNAL OF THE ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE

CONTENTS

All Rights Reserved

TAMIL CULTURE

EDITORIAL BOARD:

Chief Editor:

REV. DR. XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM,
University of Malaya.

Joint Editor:

MR. A. SUBBIAH, Madras.

Asst. Editor:

MR. S. SINGARAVELU,
University of Malaya.

Members:

MR. R. BALAKRISHNAN, District Educational Officer (Retired), Madras.
REV. P. CEYRAC, S.J., Loyola College, Madras.
DR. A. C. CHETTIAR, University of Madras.
MR. M. M. GHANI, Director, Regional Institute of English, Bangalore.
DR. K. K. PILLAI, University of Madras.
DR. V. I. SUBRAMANIAM, University of Kerala, Trivandrum.
MR. P. THIRUGNANASAMBANDAM, Presidency College, Madras.
MAHA VIDWAN M. V. VENUGOPALA PILLAI, Madras.

(The office-bearers of the Academy are ex-officio members of the Editorial Board)

ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE

OFFICE-BEARERS FOR 1963–64

President:

DR. M. VARADARAJAN

Vice-Presidents:

PROF. T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM
REV. DR. XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM
DR. KAMIL ZVELEBIL
MR. KARUMUTTU THIAGARAJAN CHETTIAR
RAO SAHIB N. MURUGESA MUDALIAR

Hony. Secretaries:

PROF. A. M. PARAMASIVANANDAM
DR. S. SHANKAR RAJU

Hony. Treasurers:

MR. S. M. PALANIAPPA CHETTIAR
MR. V. SUBBIAH PILLAI

(See inside page of back cover for names of other members of the Governing Council)

Errata to TAMIL CULTURE Vol. X, No. 4
on the article
'Where did the Dravidians come from'?

Page No. 125—Line 8—Read Chalcolithic for calcolithic.
Page No. 126—Line 33—Read half-a-millennium for half-a-million.
Page No. 127—Line 29—Read hydronomic for dydronomic.
Page No. 128—Line 12—Read Bannerjee for Deshpande.
Page No. 129—last line—Add B. C. after seventh-eighth century.
Page No. 131—Line 11—Read Petrie for Petre.

Vol. XI, No. 1 JAN.—MAR. 1964

TAMIL CULTURE

JOURNAL OF THE ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE

CONTENTS

All Rights Reserved

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. M. Andronov is Senior Research Scholar at the Institute of Peoples of Asia, Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.

Dr. S. Arasaratnam is Lecturer in Indian Studies, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.

Mr. V. A. Makarenko is the Senior Editor, Indian and South East Asian Section, State Publishing House of Foreign and National Dictionaries, U.S.S.R.

Dr. Kamil Zvelebil is the Head of the Department of Dravidology, University of Prague.

Mr. S. Singaravelu is Assistant Lecturer in Indian Studies, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TAMIL RESEARCH

—o—

[It was originally intended to publish a Special number of TAMIL CULTURE on the occasion of the first conference of world Tamilologists which was scheduled to be held in Madras in January 1964. But it has not been possible to do so.

However, the first meeting of world Tamilologists did take place in New Delhi on January 7, 1964, and one of the fruitful results of the meeting was the formation of the International Association of Tamil Research. As the object and importance of the Association would be of interest to all those actively engaged in Tamil research, we take pleasure in publishing as the first item in this number a Letter issued by the Joint-Secretaries of the new Association.—ED.]

Dear Colleague,

We have pleasure in inviting you to be a member of the International Association of Tamil Research, the scope of which is to promote studies of the Tamil language, literature, history, religion, philosophy and other aspects of culture, within the larger context of South India and Dravidiana.

The International Association of Tamil Research was formed on January 7, 1964, in New Delhi, at the XXVI International Congress of Orientalists, as a free association of scholars from all over the world who are doing research work in the field of Tamil and Dravidian Studies.

The following participated at the Inaugural Meeting held in Vigyan Bhawan.

Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram, Professor of Linguistics, Annamalai University; Prof. J. Filliozat, College de France, Paris, Institut Francais d'Indologie, Pondichery; Prof. M. Varadarajan, University of Madras; Prof. T. Burrow, Oxford; Prof. F. B. J. Kuiper, University of Leiden; Prof. A. C. Chettiar, University of Madras; Prof. K. Kanapathi Pillai, University of Ceylon; Prof. V. I. Subramaniam, University of Kerala, Trivandrum; Prof. M. A. Dorai Rangaswamy, University of Madras; Prof. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, University of Malaya; Dr. Kamil Zvelebil,

Praha-1, Mala'straha, Lazenska-4, Czechoslovakia; K. P. Ratnam, University of Malaya; K. Arumugam, University of Delhi; Dr. S. Shankar Raj Naidu, University of Madras; Charles T. Feuyvesi, University of Madras and Harvard; Harold S. Powers, University of Pennsylvania, Pa; R. E. Asher, S.O.A.S., University of London; A. K. Ramanujan, University of Chicago; Miss. Vaudeville, EFEO Paris; Dr. K. Mahadeva Sastri, S. V. University, Tirupati, South India; M. R. Jambunathan, Bombay; R. Shanmugam, University of Delhi; Saalai Ilanthiraian, University of Delhi; Ilam. Kanakasoundari, University of Delhi; Rev. Fr. S. Rajamanickam, S.J., St. Xavier's College, Tirunelveli, South India; R. Parthasarathy, University of Delhi.

The first project of the Association is to prepare, by the end of every year an Annual Report on the research work which has been completed or is in progress in the field of our studies.

The first report (to be published in 1964) will cover the period of the last five years (1959—1963).

Prof. Jean Filliozat (Institut Francais d'Indologie, Pondichery, and L'Ecole des Langues orientales vivantes, Paris) was elected President of the Association. The Vice-Presidents are Prof. Thomas Burrow (Oxford), Prof. F. B. J. Kuiper (Leiden), Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram (Annamalai), Prof. M. Varadarajan (Madras).

We invite you to become a Member of the Association, and we await your valuable suggestions for international co-operation in the field of Tamil studies. The membership in the Association does not involve any subscription. The postal address of the Association for the present is: c/o Department of Indian Studies, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

(Sd.) KAMIL ZVELEBIL,
XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM,
(Joint-Secretaries)

Materials for a Bibliography of Dravidian Linguistics

M. ANDRONOV

1. Amrita Row K., Notes on Some Hindi Words from the Dravidian, IA, 45, 1916.

2. Amrita Row K., The Dravidian Elements in the Prakrits, IA, 48, 1919.

3. Anavaratavinayakkam Pillai S., The Sanskritic Element in the Vocabularies of the Dravidian Languages, DS, 3, 1923.

4. Anderson R., Rudiments of Tamil Grammar, London, 1821.

5. Andronov, M., On the Future Tense Base in Tamil, TC, 8, 3, 1959.

6. Andronov M., On the Uses of Participles and Participial Nouns in Tamil, TC, 8, 4, 1959.

7. Andronov M., Razgovornyje formy tamiljskogo glagola (Colloquial Forms of the Tamil Verb), KSIV, 29, 1959.

8. Andronov M., Tamiljskij jazyk (Tamil language), Moscow, 1960.

9. Andronov M., Kratkij ocherk grammatiki tamiljskogo jazyka (An Outline of the Tamil Grammar), Appendix to the Tamil-Russian Dictionary, Moscow, 1960.

10. Andronov M., Hints Regarding the Origin of the Present Tense Suffix kinr in Tamil, TC, 9, 2, 1961.

11. Andronov M., Lichnyje formy glagola v sovremennom tamiljskom jazyke (Finite Forms of the Modern Tamil Verb), JI, 1961.

12. Andronov M., Razgovornyj tamiljskij jazyk i ego dialeky (Colloquial Tamil and Its Dialects), Moscow. 1962.

13. Andronov M., Jazyk Kannada (Kannada Language), Moscow, 1962.

14. Andronov M., Dravidijskije jazyki (Dravidian Languages: a Comparative Study), Moscow, 1963.

15. Andronov M., New Evidence of Possible Linguistic Ties between the Deccan and the Urals, SPV, 1961.

16. Andronov M., Lexicostatistic analysis of the chronology of disintegration of Proto-Dravidian, IIJ, in print.

17. Andronov, M., Dravidian Languages, Ar. Or., 31, 2, 1963.

18. Arden A.H., A Progressive Grammar of Common Tamil, Madras, 1954.

19. Arden A.H., A Progressive Grammar of the Telugu Language, Madras, 1955.

20. Arumuga Navalar, Summary Grammar, Madras, 1929.

21. Aṭumukanāvalar, Ilakkaṇa vināviṭai, Cennai, 1956.

22. Aṭumukanāvalar, Ilakkaṇaccurukkam, Cennai, 1957.

23. Audilakshmi Anjaneyulu, Tamil Words in Indonesian and Malayan Languages, TC, 9, 1, 1961.

24. Baldeus Ph., Naauwkeurige Beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel, Amsterdam, 1672.

25. Batsch F., Brief Grammar and Vocabulary of the Oraon Language, JASB, 35.

26. Bellew, From the Indus to the Tigris, London, 1874.

27. Beschius C.J., Grammatica Latino-Tamulica, in qua de vulgari tamulicæ linguæ idiomate Koṭuntamil dicto, fusius tractatur, Madraspatnam, 1813.

28. Beschi C.J., A Grammar of the Common Dialect of the Tamil Language, Madras, 1848.

29. Beschius C. J., Grammatica Latino-Tamulica ubi de elegantiori linguæ tamulicæ dialecto Contamil dicta, cui adduntur tamulicæ poeseos rudimenta ad usum missionarium sociatatis Jesu, Madraspatnam, 1820.

30. Beschius C.J., Clavis humaniorum litterarum sublimioris tamulici idiomatis, Tranquebar, 1876.

31. Beschi C.J., A Grammar of the High Dialect of the Tamil Language, Madras, 1828.

32. Beyer T.S., Elementa litteraturæ brahmanicæ, tangutanæ, mungalicæ, CASIP, 3, 1732.

33. Beyer T.S., Elementa brahmanica, tangutana, mungalica, CASIP, 4, 1735.

34. Beythan H., Praktische Grammatik der Tamilsprache, Leipzig, 1943.

35. Bhattacharya S., Koṇḍa Language (Grammar and Vocabulary), BDA, 2, 1, 1956.

36. Bhattacharya S., Ollari: a Dravidian speech, Calcutta, 1957.

37. Bhattacharya S., Naiki of Chanda, IIJ, 5, 2, 1961.

38. Bhaṭṭākalaṅka Dēva, Karṇāṭakaśabdānuśāsana, Ed. by B.Lewis Rice, Bangalore, 1890.

39. Bigg-Wither F., A Guide to the Study of Brahui, Allahabad, 1902.

40. Biligiri H.S., The Nasal Phonemes of Kannada, IL, 16, 1955.

41. Biligiri H.S., Kannada Verbs–Two models, IL, 18 (2), 1959.

42. Bloch J., Castes et dialectes en tamoul, MSL, 16, 1910.

43. Bloch J., Les consonnes intervocaliques en tamoul, MSL, 19, 1914.

44. Bloch J., The Intervocalic Consonants in Tamil, IA' 48, 1919.

45. Bloch J., Le dravidien, "Les langues du monde", Paris, 1924; 2-e éd., 1952.

46. Bloch J., Sanskrit et dravidien, BSL, 25, 1924.

47. Bloch J., Le nom du riz, EAEEO, 1, 1925.

48. Bloch J., Ecritures singhalese, tamoul, canara et télinga. Paris, 1927.

49. Bloch J., Sanskrit and Dravidian (See: Levi S., Przyluski J., Bloch J.)

50. Bloch J., Some Problems of Indo-Aryan philology, BSO (A) S, 5, 1930.

51. Bloch J., Une turnure dravidienne en marathe, BSL, 33, 1932.

52. Bloch J., L'indo-aryen du Véda aux temps modernes, Paris, 1934.

53. Bloch J., La forme négative du verbe dravidien, BSL, 36, 1935.

54. Bloch J., Emprunts dravidiens à l'aryen moyen, "A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies presented to Prof. F. W. Thomas", Bombay, 1939.

55. Bloch J., Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes, Paris, 1946.

56. Bloch J., Brahui et tsigane, JRAS, 1946.

57. Bloch J., The Grammatical Structure of Dravidian Languages, Poona, 1954.

58. Bouda K., Dravidisch und Uralaltaisch, UJ, 25, 1953.

59. Bouda K., Dravidisch und Uralaltaisch, "Lingua", 5, 2, 1956.

60. Brandreth E., On the Non-Aryan Languages of India, JA, 1878.

61. Bray D.S., The Brāhūi Language, vol. I, Calcutta, 1909, vols. 2-3, Delhi, 1934.

62. Bray D.S., Brahui Tales, AO, 17, 1939.

63. Brigel J., A Grammar of the Tuḷu Language, Mangalore, 1872.

64. Bright W., An Outline of Colloquial Kannada, Poona, 1958.

65. Bright W., Linguistic Change in Some Indian Caste Dialects, IJAL, 26, 3, 1960.

66. Brough J., Līlātilaka: a Sanskrit tract on Malayalam grammar and poetics, BSO (A) S, 12, 1, 1957.

67. Brown C.P., The Prosody of the Telugu and Sanskrit Languages explained, Madras, 1827.

68. Brown C.P., A Grammar of the Telugu Language, Madras, 1857.

69. Brown C.W., The Possibility of a Connection between Mitanni and the Dravidian Languages, JAOS, 50, 1930.

70. Brown W., A Grammar of the Gentoo Languago, Masulipatam, 1817.

71. Bühler J.G., Indische Paläographie, Strassburg, 1896.

72. Buitenen and Ganeshsundaram P.C. A 17th Century Dutch Grammar of Tamil. BDCPRI, 14, 3, 1953.

73. Bulich S.K., Tamiljskij jazyk (Tamil Language), "Enciklopediceskij slovarj", 64, St. Petersburg, 1901.

74. Burnell A.C., An Interesting Passage in Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's Tantravārttika, IA, 1. 1872.

75. Burnell A.C., Specimens of South Indian Dialects, Mangalore, 1872.

76. Burnell A.C., The Oldest-known South-Indian Alphabet, IA, 1, 1872.

77. Burnell A.C., Elements of South-Indian Palaeography, London, 1878.

78. Burrow T., Dravidian Studies I, BSO(A)S, 9. 3, 1938.

79. Burrow T., Dravidian Studies II: Notes on the interchange of short e and o with i and u in South Dravidian, BSO(A)S, 10, 2, 1940.

80. Burrow T., Dravidian Studies III: Two developments cf initial k— in Dravidian, BSO(A)S, 9, 1, 1943.

81. Burrow T., Dravidian Studies IV: The Body in Dravidian and Uralian, BSO(A)S, 11, 2, 1944.

82. Burrow T., Dravidian Studies V: Initial y— and ñ— in Dravidian BSO(A)S, II, 3, 1945.

83. Burrow T., Dravidian Studies VI: The loss of initial c—'s— in South Dravidian, BSO(A)S, 12, 1, 1947.

84. Burrow T., Dravidian Studies VII: Further Dravidian Words in Sanskrit, BSO(A)S, 12, 2, 1948.

85. Burrow T., Some Dravidian Words in Sanskrit, TPS, 1945.

86. Burrow T., Some Loanwords in Sanskrit, TPS, 1946.

87. Burrow T., The Sanskrit Language, London, 1955

88. Burrow T. and Bhattacharya S., The Parji Language, Hertford, 1953.

89. Burrow T. and Bhattacharya S., Some Notes on the Kui Dialect as spoken by the Kuṭṭia Khands of North-East Koraput, IIJ, 5, 2, 1961.

90. Burrow T. and Bhattacharya S., Notes on Kuvi with a short vocabulary, IIJ, 6, 3 4, 1963 pp. 231 89.

91. Burrow T. and Bhattacharya S., Gadaba supplement, IIJ, 6, 1, 1962.

92. Burrow T. and Emeneau M.B., A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, Oxford, 1961.

93. Bux A., Handbook of the Birouhi Language, Karachi, 1877.

94. Caldwell R., A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages, London, 1913, repr.: Madras, 1956.

95. Caldwell R., On the Substitution of the Roman for the Indian Characters, "Madras Journal of Literature" 1858 59.

96. Campbell A.D., A Grammar of the Teloogoo Language, commonly termed the Gentoo, peculiar to the Hindoos inhabiting the North-Eastern provinces of the Indian Peninsula, Madras, 1816.

97. Carey W., Grammar of the Telinga Language, Serampore, 1814.

98. Carey W., Grammar of the Karnata Language, Serampore, 1817.

99. Census of India. Paper No. 1. Languages—1951 Census, New Delhi, 1954.

100. Carpentier J., The Meaning and Etymology of Pūja, IA, 1927.

101. Chakravarty Ch., Meaning and Etymology of Pūja, IA, 1928.

102. Chandler, On the Transliteration of Sanskrit Proper Names into Tamil, PAOS, 1897.

103. Chandra Sekhar A., A Note on Probable Origin of the Malayalam Verb without Personal Terminations, TLCD, 1956.

104. Chandra Sekhar A., Tamil Speech-sounds, BDCPRI, 14, 1952.

105. Chatterji S.K., Phonetic Transcription from Indian Languages, BSO(A)S, 2, 2, 1922.

106. Chatterji S.K., The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, vols., I–II, Calcutta, 1926.

107. Chatterji S.K., Phonetic Transcription from Toda, OC, 1930.

108. Chatterji S.K., Languages and the Linguistic Problem, Calcutta, 1945.

109. Chatterji S.K., Old Tamil, Ancient Tamil and Primitive Dravidian, IL, 14, 1954; repr. with revision: TC, 5, 2, 1956.

110. Chatterji S.K., Dravidian Philology, TC, 6, 3, 1957.

111. Chatterji S.K., Phonetic Transcription in the Historical and Comparative Study of Indian Languages, IL, 17, 1957.

112. Chidambaranatha Chettiyar A., The Passive Voice in Tamil, JAU, 7-8, 1938-39.

113. Chidambaranatha Chettiyar A., Aphaeresis, Syncope and Apocope in Tamil, JAU, 9, 1940.

114. Chidambaranatha Chettiyar A., Advanced Studies in Tamil Prosody, Annamalainagar, 1957.

115. Chidambaranatha Chettiyar A., Introduction to Tamil Poetry, TC, 7, 1958.

116. Chinnayasūri, Śabdalakṣaṇasaṅgrahamu: An Outline of Telugu Grammar in Five Chapters of Brief Rules, Triplicane, 1853.

117. Cinnayasūri Pa., Bālavyākaraṇamu, Cennapuri, 1858.

118. Clayton A.C., Introduction to Spoken Tamil, Madras, 1949.

119. Cole R.A., An Elementary Grammar of the Coorg Language, Bangalore, 1867.

120. Cornelius J.T., The Dravidian Question, TC, 3, 2, 1954.

121. Cornelius J.T., The Dravidian Question Answered, TC, 4, 3, 1955.

122. Damais L.C., Les écritures d'origine indienne en Indonésie et dans le Sud-Est Asiatique continental, BSEI, 30, 1955.

123. David H.S., The Original Home of the Dravidians: Their Wanderings in Prehistoric Times, B.C. 4,500 to 1,500, TC, 3, 2, 1954.

124. David H.S., The Earliest Tamil Poems Extant, TC, 4, 1, 1955.

125. David H.S., Some Contacts and Affinities between the Egypto-Minoan and the Indo-(Dravido)-Sumerian Culture, TC, 4, 2, 1955

126. Dawson J., Gondi Words and Phrases, JASB, 39, 1, 1870.

127. Dawson J., Additional Gondi Vocabulary, JASB, 39, 1, 1870.

128. Dawson J., Brief Grammar and Vocabulary of the Gōnd Language, JASB, 1871.

129. Dravidian Compartive Vocabulary, vol. 1 (Ed. by Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai, Sri N. Venkata Rao, Dr. S. K. Nayar, Sri. M. Mariappa Bhat), University of Madras, 1959.

130. Driberg J.G., A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Gond Language, Calcutta, 1849.

131. Driver L., Tea Districts Labour Association Language Handbook-Kui, Calcutta, 1926.

132. Droese E., Introduction to the Malto Language, Agra, 1884.

133. Drummond R., A Grammar of the Malabar Language, Bombay, 1799.

134. Duka T., An Essay on the Brahui Grammar, after the German of the late Dr. Trumpp, of Munich University JRAS, 19, 1887.

135. Dupuis L., Grammaire française-tamoule, Pondichery' 1863.

136. Elayaperumal M., The mār Suffix in Early Tamil Literature, IL, 19, 1958.

137. Elliot W., The Importance of Early Dravidian Literature IA, 16, 1887.

138. Ellis J., Dissertation, Madras, 1810.

139. Emeneau M.B., The Songs of the Todas, PAPS, 77, 1937.

140. Emeneau M.B., Phonetic Observations on the Brahui Language, BSO(A)S, 8, 4, 1937.

141. Emeneau M.B., Personal Names of the Todas, AA, 40, 1938.

142. Emeneau M.B., Echo Words in Toda, NIA, I, 1938.

143. Emeneau M.B., The Vowels of the Badaga Language, Lg, 15, 1939.

144. Emeneau M.B., Language and Social Forms: a Study of Toda Kinship Terms, LCP, 1941.

145. Emeneau M.B., Kota Texts, vols. 1–IV, Berkely, 1944–46.

146. Emeneau M.B., The Dravidian Verbs "Come" and "Give", Lg, 21, 1945.

147. Emeneau M.B., Notes on Dravidian Etymologies (Taboos on Animal Names), Lg, 24, 1948.

148. Emeneau M.B., The Dravidian Kinship Terms, Lg, 29, 1953.

149. Emeneau M.B., Proto-Dravidian c—: Toda t—, BSO(A)S, 15.

150. Emeneau M.B., Linguistic Pre-history of India, PAPS, 98, 4, 1954; repr.: TC, 5, 1, 1956.

151. Emeneau M.B., Kolami: a Dravidian Language, Berkeley, 1955, 2nd ed., Annamalainagar, 1961.

152. Emeneau M.B., India and Linguistics, JAOS, 75, 3, 1955.

153. Emeneau M.B., India as Linguistic Area, Lg, 32, 1, 1956.

154. Emeneau M.B., Numerals in Comparative Linguistics (with Special reference to Dravidian), BIHP, 29 1957.

155. Emeneau M.B., Toda: a Dravidian Language, TPS, 1957.

156. Emeneau M.B., North Dravidian Velar Stops Mī.Ma.Ma., 1961.

157. Emeneau M.B., Brahui Demonstrative Pronouns, DVV, 1960.

158. Emeneau M.B., Brahui and Dravidian Comparative Grammar, Berkeley, 1962.

159. Emeneau M.B., India and Historical Grammar, Annamalainagar, in print.

160. Emeneau M.B., Collected Papers, Annamalainagar, in print.

161. Emeneau M.B., Bilingualism and structural borrowing, PAPS, 106, 5, 1962.

162. Emeneau M.B. and Burrow T., Dravidian Borrowings from Indo-Aryan, Berkeley, 1962.

163. Fairbanks H.G., Frequency and Phonemics, IL, 17, 1957.

164. Figulla H.H., Über die Sandhierscheinungen in den dravidichen Sprachen, MSOS, 1929.

165. Figulla H.H., Die Struktur des verbums in den dravidischen Sprachen, MSOS, 35, 2, 1932.

166. Filliozat J., Tamil and Sanskrit in South India, TC, 4, 4, 1955.

167. Finzi F., Il Brahui: Studio di etnologia linguistica, BSGI, 5, 1870.

168. Firth J.R., Alphabets and Phonology in India and Burma, BSO(A)S, 8, 1936.

169. Firth J.R., A short outline of Tamil pronunciation, Appendix to A.H. Arden's Grammar of Common Tamil, 2nd ed., Madras, 1934.

170. Fitzgerald A.G., Kuvinga Bassa : the Khond language as spoken by the Parjas of the Madras Presidency, Calcutta, 1913.

171. Flex O., Introduction to the Uraun language, Calcutta, 1874.

172. Fowler M., The segmental phonemes of Sanskritized Tamil, Lg, 30, 1954.

173. Friend-Pereira J.E., A Grammar of the Kui Language, Calcutta, 1909.

174. Frohnmeyer L.J., A Progresssive Grammar of the Malayalam Language for Europeans, Mangalore, 1913.

175. Frye J.P., A Grammar and Progressive Reading Lessons in the Kondh Language, with an English translation, Cuttack, 1851

176. Fürer-Haimendorf Ch., New Aspects of the Dravidian Problem, TC, 2, 2, 1953.

177. Gai G.S., Historical Grammar of Old Kannada, Poona, 1946.

178. Gai G.S., The inclusive and exclusive First Person Plural in Kannada, BDCPRI, 1, 1940.

179. Gai G. S., Middle demonstrative u— in Old Kannada, BDCPRI, 10, 1950.

180. Gai G.S. and Sankaran C.R., Some ethnopsychological features in Dravidian, BDCPRI, 2, 1940.

181. Ganeshsundaram P.C., A Note on the Morphemic values of Consonants in Tamil IL, 16, 1955.

182. Ganeshsundaram P.C., A note on the Semanto-Phonetic Mapping of Morpheme Compounds in Tamil, BDCPRI, 17, 1956.

183. Ganeshsundaram P.C., Distribution Characteristics of Speech-Elements in Tamil, Poona, 1959.

184. Ganeshsundaram P.C. and Subramoniam V.I., Marathi Loans in Tamil, IL, 14, 1954.

185. Ganeshsundaram P.C. and Vaidyanathan S., An Evaluation of Sanskrit Loan-Words in Tamil from the point of view of Nannūl, IL, 19, 1958.

186. Garthwaite L., The Essentials of the Malayalam Grammar, Mangalore, 1931.

187. George K.M., Ramacaritam and the Study of Early Malayalam, Madras, 1956

188. George K.M., The terms Tamiḻ and Drāviḍa, MCCM, 16; repr. in Ramacaritam and the Study of Early Malayalam (see No. 181.)

189. George K.M., Valarunna Kairali, Kottayam, 1954.

190. Gerini G.E., The Takopa Tamil Inscription, JRAS, 1913.

191. Glazov Y.Y., Morfemnyj sostav tamiljskogo klassicheskogo jazyka (Morpheme inventary of Classical Tamil), NAA, 3, 1962.

192. Gnana Prakasar S., Root words of the Dravidian group of languages, An, 30 1935.

193. Gnana Prakasar S., Some Laws of Dravidian Etymology, JORM 11, 1937.

194. Gnana Prakasar S., An Etymological and Comparative Lexicon of the Tamil Language, Chunnakam, 1938.

195. Gnana Prakasar S., The Tamil Turn in Sinhalese, TC. 1, 2, 1952.

196. Gnana Prakasar S., Linguistic Evidences for the Common Origin of the Dravidians and Indo-Europeans, TC, 2, 1, 1953.

197. Godakumbura C.E., The Dravidian Element in Sinhalese, BSO(A)S, 11, 1946.

198. Goda Varma K., A Study of Personal Pronouns in the South Dravidian Languages, NIA, 4, 1941.

199. Goda Varma K., The Change of a to e in the Indo-Aryan-Loan-Words of Malayalam, BSO(A)S, 8, 2-3, 1936.

200. Goda Varma K., Dravidian Pronouns of the First and Second Persons, OC, 1940.

201. Goda Varma K., Indo-Aryan Loan-Words in Malayalam, Mavelikara, 1946.

202. Goda Varma K., Nasal Assimilation in the Dravidian, OC, 1949.

203. Gōpālakṛṣṇayyagāru, Va., Vyāvahārikabhāṣā vyākaraṇam, Rājamahēndravaramu, 1958.

204. Gouzien P., Manuel français-anglais-tamoul de conversation à l'usage du médicin, Paris, 1904.

205. Graeter A., Coorg Songs, with Outlines of the Coorg Grammar, Mangalore, 1870.

206. Grammatica malabarico-latina, Cochin, 1868.

207. Graul K., Outlines of Tamil Grammar Leipzig, 1855.

208. K. Graul i tamuljskij jazyk (K. Graul and the Tamil language), RI, 146, 1853.

209. Graulevy issledovanija tamuljskogo jazuka v Indii (K. Graul's Studies of Tamil in India), VIRGO, 8, 4, 1853.

210. Grierson G.A. and S. Konow, Linguistic Survey of India : vol. IV—Muṇḍā and Dravidian Languages, Calcutta, 1906.

211. Grignard A., A Grammar of the Oraon Language, Calcutta 1924.

212. Growse F.S., On the Non-Aryan Element in Hindi Speech, IA, 1, 1872.

213. Gundert H., A Catechism of Malayalam Grammar, Mangalore, 1867.

214. Gundert H., A Grammar of the Malayalam Language, Mangalore, 1868.

215. Gundert H., Die dravidische Elemente in Sanskrit, ZDMG, 23, 1869.

216. Hahn F., Kurukh Grammar, Calcutta, 1900.

217. Hahn F., Kurukh Folk-lore, Calcutta, 1905

218. Hahn F., Einführung in das Gebiet der Kols-Mission, Güttersloh, 1907.

219. Haig W., A Comparative vocabulary of the Gondi and Kolami Languages JASB, 66, 1, 1897.

220. Harahari H.G., Idly in Kannada Literature, IL, 17, 1957.

221. Hevesy W., Finnisch-Ugrisches aus Indien, Wien, 1932.

222. Hiremath R.C., The Structure of Kannada, Dharwar, 1961.

223. Hislop S., Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central provinces, Nagpur, 1866.

224. Hodgson B.H., Aborigenes of the Nilgiris, JASP, 25, 1856.

225. Hodson T., Canarese Grammar, Bangalore, 1864.

226. Hoisington H.R., Brief Notes on the Tamil Language, JAOS, 1853.

227. Homburger L., L'Inde et l'Egypte, JA, 243, 1955.

228. Homburger L., Les Dravidiens et l'Afrique, ICL, 1958.

229. Houghton B., Essay on the Language of the Southern Chins and its affinities, Rangoon, 1892.

230. Hovelacque A., La linguistique: histoire naturelle du language, Paris, 1887.

231. Hovelacque A. et Vinson J., Études de linguistique et d'éthnographie, Paris, 1878.

232. Hulbert H.B., A Comparative Grammar of the Korean Language and the Dravidian Family of Languages, Seoul, 1906.

233. Hunter W.W., Comparative Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Languages of India and High Asia, London, 1868.

234. Hussain Nainar M., Arabic and Persian Words in the Tamil Language, OC, 1940.

235. Iḷaiyapermāḷ Mā., Ikara yakarap pōli. SPV, 1961.

236. Ilakkuvan S., Tamil Language, Nagercoil, 1959.

237. Irākavaiyaṅkār Mu., Conjugation of Tamil Verbs, Māṉāmaturai, 1958.

238. Jamiat Rai R.S., Notes on the Study of the Brahui Language, Quetta, 1907.

239. Joseph P., Romance of Two Tamil Words, TC, 8, 3, 1959.

240. Jotthimuttu P., A Guide to Tamil, Madras, 1956.

241. Kanapathi Pillai K., The Enunciative Vowel in Dravidian UCR, 1, 1, 1943.

242. Kanapathi Pillai K., The Palatal ñ in Tamil, UCR, 1, 2, 1943.

243. Kanapathi Pillai K., The Jaffna Dialect of Tamil: a Phonological Study, IL, 19, 1958.

244. Kanapatippiḷḷai M., Practical Tamil, Parts I–II, Madras, 1955–56.

245. Katre S.M., On a Special Locution in Southern Kannada, TC, 6, 3, 1957.

246. Katre S.M., The Small House Lizard in Konkani, SPV, 1961.

247. Kennet C.E., Notes on early-printed Tamil books, IA, 2, 1873.

248. Kern H., Drawidische Volksnamen op Sumatra, KBI, 55, 1903.

249. Keśirājā, Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa: Kesiraja's jewel mirror of language with the commentaries of Kesava Nishthurasanjyya, Mangalore, 1872.

250. Kittel F., On the Dravidian Element in Sanskrit Dictionaries, IA, I, 1872.

251. Kittel F., Keśirājā's Jewel Mirror of Grammar: a Grammar of Ancient Kanarese, Mangalore, 1872.

252. Kittel F., Notes concerning Numerals of the Ancient Dravidians, IA, 2, 1873.

253. Kittel F., Some remarks on Dr. Pope's "Notes on the South Indian or Dravidian Family of Languages", IA, 8, 1879.

254. Kittel F., Notes on South Indian Comparative Philology, IER, 4, 1881.

255. Kittel F., Drawidische Elemente in den Sanskrit Dhātupāṭhas, "Festgrub an Rudolf von Roth zum Doctor—Jubiläum", Stuttgart, 1883.

256. Kittel F., A Grammar of the Kannada Language, Mangalore, 1903.

257. Klemens, Grammatica malabare, Roma, 1784.

258. Kokan Y., Influence of Tamil on Spoken Urdu of Tamilnad, SPV, 1961.

259. Konow S., Notes on Dravidian Philology, IA, 32, 1903.

260. Konow S., Muṇḍās and Drāviḍas, IA, 33, 1904.

261. Krishnamacharya, A Grammar of the Modern Kanarese Language, Mangalore, 1882.

262. Krishnambal S.R., Segmentation of Tamil Demonstrative Pronouns, IL, 19, 1958.

263. Krishnamurti Bh., Evolution of Proto-Dravidian ḻ in Telugu, "Saṁskṛti", 1–2, Rajamundry, 1953-54.

264. Krishnamurti Bh., The History of Vowel-Length in Telugu Bases, JAOS, 75, 4, 1955.

265. Krishnamurti Bh., Sandhi in Modern Colloquial Telugu, IL, 17, 1957.

266. Krishnamurti Bh., Proto-Dravidian ẓ, IL, 19, 1958.

267. Krishnamurti Bh., Alternations i/e and u/o in South Dravidian, Lg, 34, 4, 1958.

268. Krishnamurthi Bh., Telugu Verbal Bases: a descriptive and comparative study, Berkeley, 1961.

269. Kuiper F.B.J., Zur Chronologie des Stimmtonverlusts im dravidischen Anlaut, BSO(A)S, 9, 1938.

270. Kuiper F.B.J., Two Problems of Old Tamil Phonology, IIJ, 2, 3, 1958.

271. Kuiper F.B.J., A Malay word in Tamil IIJ, 5, 3, 1962.

272. Kuiper F.B.J., Note on Old Tamil and Jaffna Tamil IIJ ,6, 1, 1963.

273. Kunjunni Raja, Alternation of m/v in Malayalam, SPV, 1961.

274. Lahovary N., Apercus nouveaux sur de rapports incoupconnes du basque et des langues dravidiennes, BRABL, 21, 1948.

275. Lahovary N., Substract linguistique méditerrané en besque et dravidien, "Substrat en langues classiques", Firenze, 1954.

276. Lahovary N., La diffusion de langues anciennes du Proche-Orient: leur relations avec le basque, le dravidien et les parlers indo-européens primitifs, Berne, 1957.

277. Lap P., Grammaire française-tamoule, Pondicheri, 1904.

278. Lassen Ch., Die Brahui und ihre Sprache, ZKM, 5, 1844.

279. Lazarus J., A Tamil Grammar designed for use in colleges and schools, Madras, 1878.

280. Leech R., Epitome of the Grammar of the Brahuiky, JASB, 7, 1838.

281. Legrand F., Tamil Loan-Words in Greek TC, 3, 1, 1954.

282. Lehmann A., The German Contribution to Tamil Studies, TC, 9, 2, 1961.

283. Letchmâjee L., An Introduction to the Grammar of the Kui or Kandh Language, Calcutta, 1902.

284. Levi S., Przyluski J and Bloch J., Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, Calcutta, 1929.

285. Lewis J.P., Slang of Tamil Castes, IA, 19, 1890.

286. Lind A.A., A Manual of the Mardia Language, Kedgaon, 1913.

287. Lisker L., Tamil verb classification JAOS, 71, 1951.

288. Lisker L., The Tamil Occlusives: short vs. long or voiced vs. voiceless, IL, 19, 1958.

289. Lisker L., Introduction to Spoken Telugu, New York, 1963.

290. Logan J.R., Ethnology of the Indo-Pacific Islands, JIA, 7, 1853.

291. Ludwig A., Über die Verbalflexion der Dravidasprachen, SKBGW, 1900.

292. Maddali Lakshmi Narasayya, A Short Grammar of the Telugu language, Madras, 1870.

293. Mahadeva Sastri K., Intensive and Inclusive Compounds in Telugu, IL, 14 1954.

294. Mahadeva Sastri K., Telugu Language of the Inscriptions of the 12th Cent. A.D., IL, 15, 1956.

295. Mahadeva Sastri K., Telugu Language of the Inscriptions of the 13th Cent. A.D., IL, 15, 1956.

296. Mahadeva Sastri K., Dialectical Variations in Eleventh Century Telugu, TC, 6, 4, 1957.

297. Mahadeva Sastri K., Personal Names in Old Telugu, SPV, 1961.

298. Mahalinga Aiyar A., Manuel of Tamil Language, Madras, 1892.

299. Majumdār B.C., Bāṅgālā bhāṣāy drāviṛī upādān, VPP, 1913.

300. Mariappa Bhat M., Plural Suffixes in the Dravidian Languages, JORM, 16, 1946.

301. Mariappa Bhat M., Sounds and Prosodies of Certain Cognates in the Dravidian, IL, 19, 1958.

302. Mariappa Bhat M., Tamil-Tulu Early Contacts SPV, 1961.

303. Master A., Some parallelisms in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian with special reference to Marathi, Gujarati and Kanerese, JBBRAS, 5–8.

304. Master A., Intervocalic Plosives in Early Tamil, BSO(A)S, 9, 1938.

305. Master A., Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, BSO(A)S, 11–12, 1943–48.

306. Master A., The Zero Negative in Dravidian, TPS, 1946.

307. Master A., Introduction to Telugu Grammar, London, 1947.

308. Mattan J., Malayalam Grammar, ?, 1868.

309. Matthews G., The Vulgar Pronunciation of Tamil, BSO(A)S, 10, 1942.

310. Mayer J., Dravidische Nominalsuffixe und ihre afrikanischen Parallelen, "Bibliotheca Africana", 1, 1924.

311. Mayer T.J.L., A Brahui Reading Book, Ludhiana, 1906.

312. Mayrhofer M., Neue Literatur zu den Substraten im Altindischen, Ar. Or., 18, 4, 1950.

313. Mayrhofer M., Indogermanisch-dravidisch zum Thema "Zufall", An, 47, 1952.

314. Mayrhofer M., Die Substrattheorien und das Indische, GRM, 34, 1953.

315. McCormack W., Social Dialects in Dharwar Kanada, IJAL, 26, 3, 1960.

316. McKerrell J., A Grammar of the Carṇâṭaka Language, Madras, 1820.

317. Meenakshisundaram Pillai T.P., Nasal Vowels in Tamil, IL, 18, 1957.

318. Meenakshisundaram Pillai T.P., The Teaching of Tamil Grammar, TC, 7, 3, 1958.

319. Meenakshisundaram Pillai T.P., The Tamil Script Reform, TC, 2, 1, 1953.

320. Meenakshisundaram Pillai T.P., Tamil Letters and Sounds of the Seventeenth Century, IL, 17, 1957.

321. Meenakshisundaram Pillai T.P., The Tamil of the Seventeenth Century, IL, 18, 1958.

322. Meenakshisundaram Pillai T.P., An Eighteenth Century Tamil Grammar, "Collected Papers of Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram", Annamalainagar, 1961.

323. Meenakshisundaram Pillai T.P. and Shanmugam Pillai M., The Portuguese Influence Revealed by Tamil Words, JAU, 16, 1951.

324. Meerwarth A.M., The History of the Intervocalic Stops in the Dravidian Languages, DAN, 7, 1928.

325. Mervart A.M., Grammatika tamiljskogo razgovonogo jazyka (A grammar of the Tamil language), Leningrad, 1929.

326. Meile P., Sur la sifflante en dravidien, JA, 234, 1943-45.

327. Meile P., Introduction au tamoul, Paris, 1945.

328. Meile P., Observation sur quelques caractèrs communs des langues dravidiennes et des langues altaïques, "Actes du XXIe congrès international des orientalists", Paris, 1948.

329. Meile P., Quelques particularités du sandhi au tamoul, BSL, 45, 1, 1949.

330. Meile P., La structure du tamoul, "Institute de linguistique", Paris, 1954.

331. Metz F., A Vocabulary of the Dialect spoken by the Todas of the Nilagiri mountains, MJLS, 1-2, 1856-57.

332. Mitchell A.N., A Grammar of Maria Gondi as spoken by the Bison Horn or Dandami Marias of Bastar State, Jagdalpur, 1942.

333. Morgenstierne G., Report on a linguistic mission to North-western India, Oslo, 1932.

334. Morris H., Simplified Grammar of the Telugu Language, London, 1890.

335. Morris J.C., A compendium of Andhra vykaranamu or a catechism of Telugu grammar, Madras, 1834.

336. Müller Fr., Reise der österreichischen Fregatte um die Erde in den Jahren 1857-59 : Linguistischer Theil, Wien, 1867.

337. Müller Fr., Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, Tom 3, Wien, 1884.

338. Myleru G.R., Some Dravidian Loan-Words in English, TC, 1, 2, 1952; repr.: JAU, 18, 1953.

339. Nāgavarma, Karṇāṭakabhāṣābhūṣaṇa, ed. by B. Lewis Rice, Bangalore, 1884.

340. Nair S.K., A Study of Obsolete Words in Tamil and Malayalam, SPV, 1961.

341. Narasayya M.L., A Short Grammar of the Telugu Language, Madras, 1870.

342. Narasimhacharya R., History of Kannada Language, Mysore, 1934.

343. Narasimhia A.N., The History of p in Kanarese, BSO(A)S, 8, 1936.

344. Narasimhia A.N., A Grammar of the Oldest Kanarese Inscriptions, Mysore, 1941.

345. Narasimhia A.N., Gowḍa in Kannada, IL, 22, 1961.

346. Narasimhia R., A Rationalized Roman Script for Indian Languages, "Thought", 13, 32, Delhi, 1960.

347. Narayana Rao C., An Introduction to Dravidian Philology, Anantapur, 1929.

348. Narayana Rao C., A Study of Telugu Roots, OC, 1930.

349. Narayana Rao C., The Brahmi Inscriptions of South India, NIA, I, 1938.

350. Nārāyaṇarāvu Ci., Āndhra bhāṣa caritramu, Valtairu, 1937.

351. Nesiah K., The Status of Tamil in Ceylon, TC, 7, 1958.

352. Notice sur les langues et l'écriture des indiens, et sur celles des tamouls en particulier, Paris, 1806.

353. Nottrott A., Grammar of the Koi Language, Ranchi, 1905.

354. Patwardhan S.B., First Goṇḍī Manual, London, 1935.

355. Paupinani Abboyi Naydu, The Rudiments of Telugu Grammar, ? , 1868.

356. Peet J., A Grammar of the Malayalam Language, Cottayam, 1841.

357. Petrunicheva Z., K istorii jazyka i literatury naroda andhra (From the history of the language and literature of Andhras), UZIV, 13, 1958.

358. Petrunicheva Z., Jazyk telugu (Telugu language), Moscow, 1960.

359. Pizzagalli A.M., L'origine delle linguali nell'antico indiano e l'infusso dravidico, "Silloge linguistica dedicata alla memoria di Graziadio Isaia Ascoli", Torino, 1929.

360. Pope G.U., A Handbook of the Ordinary Dialect of the Tamil Language, Oxford, 1911.

361. Pope G.U., A First Catechism of Tamil Grammar, Oxford, 1895.

362. Pope G.U., A Catechism of Tamil Grammar No. 2 Oxford, 1905.

363. Pope G.U., A larger Grammar of the Tamil Language in Both its dialects; to which are added the Nannūl, Yāpparungalam, and other native authorities, Madras, 1858.

364. Pope G.U., One Alphabet for All India, Madras, 1859.

365. Pope G.U., Outlines of the Grammar of the Toda Language (in W. Marshall's Phrenologist among the Todas), London, 1873.

366. Pope G.U., Notes on the South Indian or Dravidian Family of Languages, 1A, 5, 1876, 8, 1879.

367. Pope G.U., On the Study of the South Indian Vernaculars, JRAS, 17, 1885.

368. Printz W., Anglo-indisch Cheroot "Zigarre", ZDMG, 86, 1933.

369. Przyluski J., Le nom du ble, RO, 30, 1928.

370. Przyluski J., 'Pre-Dravidian or Proto-Dravidian, IHQ, 6, 4, 1930.

371. Przyluski J., Le nom du dieu Visnu, Ar. Or., 4, 2, 1932.

372. Pujar M.P., Kelavu kannaḍa vyākaraṇa vicāragaḷu Dharwar, 1952.

373. Rajagopala Iyengar M.R., Phonetic Changes in Tamil Words Borrowed from Classical Sanskrit, JORM, 14, 1940.

374. Rajaraja Varma A.R., Kēraḷapāṇinīyam, Trivandrum, 1936.

375. Rama Varma, Inscriptions in Tinnevelly and South Travancore, 1A, 2, 1873.

376. Ramachandra Dikshitar V.R., Prehistoric South India, Madras, 1951.

377. Ramakrishnaiya K., Studies in Dravidian Philology, Madras, 1935.

378. Ramakrishnaiya K., The Dravidian Infinitive, AORM, 7, 1944.

379. Ramakrishnaiya K., Dravidian Cognates, Madras, 1944.

380. Ramakrishnaiya K., Telugu Language in the First Millenium A.D., JSVOI, 12-13, 1951-52.

381. Ramakrishnaiya K., Some Features of the Primitive Dravidian Tongue, "Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume".

382. Ramamurthy K., The Linguistic Area of Tamil Nad, TC, 1, 2, 1952.

383. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., A Brief Account of Malayalam Phonetics, Calcutta, 1925.

384. Ramaswamy Aiyar L.V., Tamil Words in Ancient Greek Vocabulary ERM, 1926.

385. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Causal Verbs in Dravidian, ERM, 1928.

386. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Dravidian Notes (1. Nasals and Nasal Accentuation in Dravidian; 2. The Tense Forms of the Brahui Verbs; 3. The Affinities of the Kodagu Language), ERM, 1928.

387. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., The Tulu Verb, ERM, 1928.

388. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Plosives in Dravidian, JORM, 1928.

389. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Notes in Dravidian (1. The words for "See" in Dravidian; 2. Tulu *pudar* "Name"), ERM, 1928.

390. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Short Notes on Dravidian, ERM, 1928.

391. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., "Yesterday", "to-day" and "to-morrow" in Dravidian, JORM, 1928.

392. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Notes on Dravidian I–VII, IHQ, 4–7, 1928–31.

393. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Dravidian Notes, JBORS, 15, 1929.

394. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., The Kurukh Verb, ERM, 1929.

395. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., The Kui Verb, ERM, 1929.

396. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., The Gondi Verb, 1929.

397. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Brahui Forms and Dravidian Origins, ERM, 1929.

398. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Plosives in Dravidian, IA, 58, 1929.

399. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Linguistic History of Certain Dravidian Words, JDL, 19, 8, 1929.

400. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Austric and Dravidian, QJMS, 20, 2–3, 1929–30.

401. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Dravidic Etymologies, JORM, 4, 1930.

402. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Kui Words and Dravidian Origins, 4, 2, 1930.

403. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Word Parallels between Dravidian and other Language Families, ERM, 1930.

404. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Problems of Dravidian Linguistics (Etymological Studies), ERM, 1930.

405. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Dravidic Miscellany, IA, 59, 1930.

406. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., The Dravidian Base uḷ, IL, 1, 1, 1931.

407. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Ancient Dravidian initial surd k- and its modern derivatives, ERM, 1931.

408. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., The k- dialects of Dravidian, ERM, 1931.

409. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., The Initial Labials of Dravidian, ERM, 1931.

410. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Dravidic Forms of Betel Leaf, JORM, 5, 1, 1931.

411. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Some Dravidic Plant-names, JORM, 1931.

412. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Aphæresis and Sound Displacement in Dravidian, QJMS, 22, 4, 1932.

413. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., The Interrogative Bases in Dravidian, IA, 61, 1932.

414. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., A Problem of Dravidian Phonology, JORM, 6, 1932.

415. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., The Dravidian Problems (1. The Druta Classification in Literary Telugu; 2. The Kannada Variants kem-, kis-, kecc- "red"), QJMS, 23-24, 1932-33.

416. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Tulu Initial Affricares and Sibilants, QJMS, 22, 1932.

417. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Tulu Prose Text in Two Dialects, BSO (A) S, 6, 1932.

418. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Dravidian Problems (1. Tulu h; 2. Tamil aydam), IA, 62, 1933.

419. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Initial Fricatives and Affricates in Dravidian, IA, 62, 1933.

420. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Dravidic Sandhi, QJMS, 25-28, 1934-38.

421. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Dravidic Perspectives, ERM, 1935.

422. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Semantic Divergences in Indo-Aryan Loan-Words, JORM, 8-9, 1934-35.

423. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Tamil ḷ, JORM, 9, 2-3, 1935.

424. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Dravidian Nominal Inflexions, ERM, 1936.

425. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Dravidic " Eating " and " Drinking ", IHQ, 12, 1936.

426. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., The Evolution of Malayalam Morphology, Ernakulam, 1936.

427. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Materials for a Sketch of Tulu Phonology, IL, 6, 1936.

428. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Notes on Kēraḷapāṇinīyam, MCM, 20, I, 1937.

429. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., The Language of Kalittogai, JORM, II, 1937.

430. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., A South Indian Evaluation of Sanskrit, IHQ, 13, 1937.

431. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., A Primer of Malayalam Phonology, BRVRI, 1937.

432. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., The History of the Tamil-Malayalam Alveolar Plosive, JMU, 8, 3-4, 1937.

433. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., The Language of Tiruvalluvar's Kural, QJMS, 28, 1938.

434. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., A Fifteenth Century Malayalam Prose Text, MCM, 21, 1, 1938.

435. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., The Morphology of the Old Tamil Verb, An, 33, 1938.

436. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., The History of the Tamil ṟ, JAOS, 58, 4, 1938.

437. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Some Parallelism and Divergences in South Indian Dravidian, ERM, 1938-39.

438. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Two Malayalam Phonemes, NIA, 1, 1938.

439. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., The Old Tamil Verb, QJMS, 30, 1939.

440. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Linguistic " Preservations " in Malayalam, JORM, 2, 1, 1937.

441. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Līlātilakam on Malayalam Inflexions, QJMS, 33, 1942.

442. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Grammar in Līlātilakam, Trichur, 1944.

443. Ramaswami Aiyar L.V., Indigenous Grammars on the Verbs "come" and "give", JAOS, 67, 1947.

444. Ramaswami Aiyar, L.V., Dravidic Word-Studies: 1. Dravidic "fish", "star", "sky"; 2. Dravidic forms of the "moon", IL, 2, 1950.

445. Rao H.R., Kannada made easy, Bombay, s.a.

446. Reddy G.N., Etymology of Some Telugu Words, IL, 15, 1956.

447. Rhenius C.T.E., A Grammar of the Tamil Language, Madras, 1888.

448. Rivers W.H.R., The Todas, London, 1906.

449. Rōgamey C., Bibliographie analitique des travaux telatifs aux éléments anaryen dans la civilisation et des langues de l'Inde, BEFEO, 34, 2, 1935.

450. Ronkel Ph.S., Het Tamil-Element in het Maleisch' TBG, 45, 1902.

451. Ronkel Ph.S., Tamilwoorden in Maleisch gewaad, TBG, 46, 1903.

452. Rost C., Ueber den Genetiv in den dekhanischen Sprachen, JDMG, 1846.

453. Ruegg D.S., Contributions à l'histoire de la philosophie linguistique indienne, Paris, 1959.

454. Sankar Raju Naidu S., A Comparative Study of Tamil and Nagari Alphabets, TC, 9, 1, 1961.

455. Sankaran C.R., Reconstruction of Proto-Dravidian Pronouns, BDCPRI, 1, 1940.

456. Sankaran C.R., Dravidian Words for "book" and "writing", BDCPRI, I, 1940.

457. Sankaran C.R., The Dravidian atta— and annai in Hettite, BDCPRI, 1, 1940.

458. Sankaran C.R., An Extended Misapplication of the Dative of Relationship in Tamil, BDCPRI, 1, 1940.

459. Sankaran C.R., Linguistic Notes, BDCPRI, 1, 1940.

460. Sankaran C.R., Introduction to the Study of Old Tamil Phonemics, BDCPRI, 8, 1947.

461. Sankaran C.R., Phonemics of Old Tamil, Poona, 1951.

462. Sankaran C.R., Some Problems in Kannada Linguitics, Dharwar, 1954.

463. Sankaran C.R., On āytam, TC, 9, 1, 1961.

464. Sankaran C.R., Tolkappiyar and the Science of Phonemics, TC, 9, 2, 1961.

465. Sankaran C.R. and Gai G.S., The Demonstrative u-Element in Dravidian, IA, 67, 1939.

466. Sankaran C.R. and Ganeshsundaram P.C., A Critique of Experimental Methods in Phonetics, IL, 17, 1957.

467. Sankaran C.R. and Ganeshsundarm P.C., A Note on Āydam-Phenomenon, IL, 18, 1957.

468. Sankaran C.R. and Sekhar A.C., Middle Dravidian Morphology, BDCPRI, 6, 1945.

469. Sankaran C.R. and Sekhar A.C., Totality, re-examined from the Dravidian standpoint, BDCPRI, 6, 1945.

470. Sankaran C.R. and Srinivasan N.K., The Phonemic Variants of āydam in Old Tamil, BDCPRI, 2, 1941.

471. Sathasivam A., The suffix ciṉ in Caṅkam Tamil, T.C., 7, 2, 1958.

472. Schmid B., On the dialect of the Todavers, the aboriginals of the Neelgheries, MJLS, 5, 1837.

473. Schoebel C., Affinités des langues dravidiennes et des langues Ouralo-Altaïques, Congrès international des orientalists: compte rendu de la premiere session, tome 2, Paris, 1873

474. Schrader O., Dravidisch und Uralisch, ZII, 3, 1925,

475. Schrader O., Ein syntaksisches Problem der Indien Sprachfamilien, ZII, 6, 1928.

476. Schrader O., A Curious Case of Idiomatic Sanskrit, BSO(A)S, 6, 1931.

477. Schrader O., On the "Uralian" Element in the Drâviḍa and the Muṇḍā Languages BSO(A)S, 8, 2-3, 1936.

478. Schulze F.V.P., A Grammar of the Kuvi Language, with Copious Examples, Madras, 1911.

479. Sekhar A.C., Evolution of Malayalam, BDCPRI, 1951.

480. Sekhar A.C., Evolution of Malayalam, Poona, 1953.

481. Sekhar A.C., The Tamil Speech-Sound āytam, TLCD, 1955.

482. Sekhar A.C. and Sankaran C.R., Notes on Colloquial Malayalam, BDCPRI, 6, 1—2, 1944.

483. Sekhar C. and Glazov Y.Y., Jazyk malayalam (Malayalam language), Moscow, 1961.

484. Senthamilan, Transliteration of Tamil in Roman Characters and vice versa, TC, 4, 1, 1955.

485. Seshagiri Shastri M., Notes on Aryan and Dravidian Philology, Madras, 1884.

486. Sesha Iyengar T.R., Dravidian India, Madras, 1925.

487. Sethumadhava Rao P., A Grammar of the Kolami Language, Hyderabad-Dn., 1950.

488. Sethumadhavà Rao M., A Grammar of the Gondi Language, Hyderabad-Dn., 1955.

489. Sethu Pillai R.P., The Standard Language of South India, OC, 1937.

490. Sethu Pillai R.P., Dialectical Variations of the Distinctive Consonants of Tamil, OC, 1940.

491. Sethu Pillai R.P., Words and their significance, JORM, I, 1943-44.

492. Sethu Pillai R.P., Semantics with Special Reference to Tamil OC, 1944.

493. Sethu Pillai R.P., Tamil—Literary and Colloquial, JORM, 2-3, 1944-46.

494. Sethu Pillai R.P., The Sacred Place-names of Tamilnad, OC, 1946.

495. Sethu Pillai R.P., Place-name Suffixes in Tamill JORM, 4-5, 1946-48

496. Sethu Pillai R.P., The Pandya Dialect of Tamil OC, 1949.

497. Sethu Pillai R.P., Words and Their Significance, Madras, 1953.

498. Sethu Pillai R.P., The Linguistic Value of Anantharangam Pillai's Diary, OC, 1953.

499. Sethu Pillai R.P., Place-name Suffixes in Tamil-Akam, TC, 3, 2, 1954.

500. Sethu Pillai R.P., Place-names of Agricultural Regions of Marutham, TC, 4, 4, 1955.

501. Shanmugam Pillai M., The Phonemic Variations of kuṯṭiyalukaram in Tamil, IL, 15, 1956.

502. Shanmugam Pillai M., Tamil—Literary and Colloquial, IJAL, 26, 3, 1960.

503. Shanmugam Pillai M., Derivative Words in Modern Tamil, IL, 22, 1961.

504. Siddheswar Varma, Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians, London, 1929.

505. Siddheswar Varma, Tamil Vowels in Connected Speech, IL, 14, 1954.

506. Siddheswar Varma, The conceptual machinery of Tamil, BSO(A)S, 20, 1957.

507. Siddheswar Varma, Gender in the Languages of India, IL, 19, 1958.

508. Singarapelavanderam Pillai P., A Tamil Vade-Mecum, Madras, 1859.

509. Sitapati G.V., Accent in Telugu Speech and Verse, IL, 6.

510. Sivasambo Pulavar, Tamil Prosody, Jaffna, 1894.

511. Smith J.M., A Practical Handbook of the Khond Language, Cuttack, 1876.

512. Somaji G.J., Some Words Denoting Relationship in the Dravidian Languages, JORM, 12, 1938.

513. Spencer H., A Kanarese Grammar, Mysore, 1950.

514. Spiring F.J., Outlines of the Malayalam Grammar, Madras, 1839.

515. Sravniteljnyje slovari vsech jazykov i narachij... (Comparative Vocabularies of All Languages and Dialects), Parts I—II, St. Petersburg, 1787-89.

516. Sravniteljnyj Slovarj vsech jazykov i narechij, po azbuchnomu porjadku raspolozhennyj (Comparative Lexicon of all Languages and Dialects, alphabetically arranged), St. Petersburg, 1790-91.

517. Sreekantaiya T.N., The Mutation of i, u, e, and o in Kannada, OC, 1935.

518. Sreekantaiya T.N., English as the Kannadiga speaks it, BPS, 1940.

519. Sreekantaiya T.N., Affricates in Kannada Speech, IL, 14, 1954.

520. Srikantia B.M., Pūrvada Hoḷagannaḍa and Tamil, OC, 1940.

521. Srinivasachari C.S., Studies in the growth of modern Tamil, ABRI, 23.

522. Srinivása Mudaliar, An Abridgement of Tamil Grammar, Madras, 1893.

523. Stevenson R., An essay on the language of the aboriginal Hindus, JBBRAS, 1, 3, 1842.

524. Suaumo Kuno, Phonemic Structure of Colloquial Tamil, GK, 34, 1958.

525. Subba Row Addakki, The Telugu Primer, Madras, 1851.

526. Subbayya K.V., A Primer of Dravidian Phonology, IA, 38, 1909.

527. Subbayya K.V., A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, 39-40, 1910-11.

528. Subbaya K.V., The History of the First Personal Pronoun in Various Dravidian Languages, DS, 2 1923 (?)

529. Subbaiah A., Voiced and Voiceless Stops in Tamil, TC, 5, 2, 1956.

530. Subrahmanya Ayyar K.V., The Earliest Monuments of the Pandya Country and Their Inscriptions, OC, 1924.

531. Subrahmanya Sastri P.S., Compounds in Tamil Language, JORM, 1928.

532. Subrahmanya Sastri P.S., The History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil and Their Relation to the Grammatical Literature in Sanskrit, Madras, 1934.

533. Subrahmanya Sastri P.S., Tamiḻ moḻinūl, Trichinopoly, 1938.

534. Subrahmanya Sastry P.S., Cuṭṭeḻettu, JORM, 1, 1928.

535. Subrahmanya Sastry P.S., Historical Tamil Reader, Annamalainagar, 1945.

536. Subrahmanya Sastry P.S., A Comparative Grammar of the Tamil Language, Tiruvadi, 1947.

537. Subramoniam V.I., The Evolution of the Tamil Script, TC, 2, 1, 1953.

538. Subramoniam V.I., The Importance of Tamil Epigraphy, TC, 3, 3-4, 1954.

539. Subramoniam V.I., The Need for Linguistics, TC, 7, 2, 1958.

540. Subramoniam V.I., Negatives, TC, 8, 1, 1959.

541. Subramoniam V.I., Transformation Analysis of a Lyric in Purananuru, SPV, 1961.

542. Subramoniam V.I., Dravidian Words in Sanskrit, TC, 9, 3, 1961.

543. Suryanarayana Sastri V.G., History of the Tamil Language, Madurai, 1953.

544. Śvarny O. and Zvelebil K., Some Remarks on the Articulation of the "Cerebrals" in Indian Languages, especially in Tamil, Ar. Or., 23, 3, 1955.

545. Swaminatha Aiyar R., The Aryan Affinities of Dravidian Pronouns, OC, 1924.

546. Taskar A.D., An Experimental Study of the Nature of Accent, IL, 17, 1957.

547. Terooovercaudoo Soobroya, Tamil Expositor: a Knowledge of the Tamil Language, Madras, 1817.

548. Tēvanēyaṉ Ñ., Iyaṯṯamiḻ ilakkaṇam, Ceṉṉai, 1948.

549. Tēvanēyaṉ Ñ., Kakara cakarap parimaṭṭam, SPV, 1961.

550. Thani Nayagam X.S., The First Books Printed in Tamil, TC, 7, 1958.

551. Thani Nayagam X.S., Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai, TC, 9, 3, 1961.

552. Thirugnanasambandam T., Semantic Variations in Words Sanskrit and Dravidian, SPV, 1961.

553. Thompson M.S.H., The Mahabharata in Tamil, JRAS, 1960.

554. Thuraisingham V., Conversational Tamil, Colombo, 1942.

555. Thyagaraju A.F., Glossarial Affinities between Dravidian and Uralian, QJMS, 21, 1930.

556. Thyagaraju A.F., Palatalization in the Dravidian Languages, IA, 61, 1932.

557. Thyagaraju A.F., Developments of Dravidian ḷ, "Vyāsasaṅgrahamu" (Miscellany of Essays presented to G. V. Ramamurthi Pantulu), 1933.

558. Tolkāppiyam. The Earliest Extant Tamil Grammar. With a Short Commentary in English by P. S. Subrahmanya Sastry. Vol. 1. Eḻuttatikāram, Madras, 1930; Vol. 2. Collatikāram, Annamalainagar, 1945.

559. Tolstov S.P., Drevnij Chorezm (Ancient Khorezm), Moscow, 1948.

560. Trench C.G.C., A Grammar of Gondi as spoken in the Betul District, Central Provinces, India, Madras, 1919-21.

561. Trumpp E., Grammatische Untersuchungen über die Sprache der Brahuis, SKBAW, 1880.

562. Tuttle E.H., Dravidian S, AJP, 40, 1919.

563. Tuttle E.H., Dravidian Gender-Words, 4, 4, 1929.

564. Tuttle E.H., Dravidian Researches, AJP, 50, 1929.

565. Tuttle E.H., Dravidian Developments, Philadelphia, 1930.

566. Tuttle E.H., Dravidian and Nubian, JAOS, 52, 1932.

567. Tuttle E.H., Some Dravidian Prefixes, BSO(A)S, 8, 2-3, 1936.

568. Tuttle E.H., Dravidian Notes, JAOS, 57, 1937.

569. Tuttle E.H., The History of Tamil R, JAOS, 57, 1937.

570. Tuttle E.H., Dravidian "bone", JAOS, 58, 1938.

571. Tuttle E.H., Finnic and Dravidian, New Haven, s.a.

572. Vaidyanatha Ayyar R.S., The Sumero-Dravidian and the Hittite-Aryan Origins, QJMS, 19, 1929.

573. Vaidyanathan S., A Study of the Semantics of Sanskrit Loan-Words in Modern Tamil, IL, 19, 1958.

574. Vaiyapuri Pillai S., Research in Dravidian Languages, Madras, 1946.

575. Vaiyapuri Pillai S., History of Tamil Language and Literature TC, 3, 3-4, 1954.

576. Vaiyapuri Pillai S., History of Tamil Language and Literature, Madras, 1956.

577. Vaiyāpurippiḷḷai Es., Coṯkaḷiṉ caritam, Ceṉṉai, 1956.

578. Varatarācaṉ Mu., Moḷi varalāṯu, Ceṉṉai, 1957.

579. Varatarācaṉ Mu., Moḷinūl, Ceṉṉai, 1958.

580. Varatarācaṉ Mu., Kuṯippuviṉai, TC, 8, 2, 1959.

581. Venkatarajulu Reddiar V., Dravidic Pronouns, Madras, 1939.

582. Vēṅkaṭarājulu Reṭṭiyār Vē., Ēval viṉaiyamaippu, SPV, 1961.

583. Venkatarama Reddiyar V., Word-Building, Madras, 1956.

584. Venkatarama Ayyar C.R., The Demostrative Bases, DS, 1, 1919.

585. Venkatarama Aiyar C.P., The Pronunciation of the Hard R in Dravidian, OC, 1920.

586. Venkatarama Sastri, Telugu Grammar, Vizagapatam, 1870.

587. Venkata Rao N., Word Classification in the Telugu Language, AORM, 14, 1-2, 1958.

588. Venkata Rao N., Studies in the history of Telugu linguistics, AORM, 17, 2, 1961.

589. Venkatesaiah M.G., The Initial surd—Medial Sonant Postulate in Kannada, QJMS, 45, 3, 1955.

590. Vicākapperumāḷaiyar T., Yāppilakkaṇam, Ceṉṉai, 1955.

591. Vinson J., Sur l'histoire de la phonetique dravidienne, Congrès international des orientalists : comptes rendu de la premiere session, tome 2, Paris, 1873.

592. Vinson J., Les langues dravidiennes, " République Française ", 26 juillet 1873.

593. Vinson J., La conjugation dans les langues dravidiennes, RL, 10, 1876.

594. Vinson J., Les langues et les études dravidiennes, " République Française ", 12 mai 1876.

595. Vinson J., Le mot dien en basque et dans les langues dravidionnes, RL, 13, 1879.

596. Vinson J., Le verbe dans les langues dravidiennes (tamoul, canara, telinga, malayala, tulu), Paris, 1878.

597. Vinson J., Les langues dravidiennes, " Revue scientifique ", 5 juillet 1879,

598. Vinson J., Documents pour servir á l'histoire des études dravidiennes, RL, 14, 1880.

599. Vinson J., La science du language et les études dravidiennes, RL, 14, 1880.

600. Vinson J., La rime dans la poésie tamoule, RL, 28, 1894.

601. Vinson J., L écriture arabe appliquée aux langues dravidiennes, JA, 5, 1895.

602. Vinson J., Les variations phonétiques de la pronuncion populaire tamoule, "Centenaire de l'Ecole des langues orientales vivantes: récueil de mémoires", Paris, 1895.

603. Vinson J., Notice sur quelques missionaires jésuites qui ont écrit en tamoul et sur le tamoul au dernier siècle, RL, 32-33, 1898-99.

604. Vinson J., Le Pluriel primitif en —m, JA, 17, 1910.

605. Vinson J., Sur un caractère singulier dans l'alphabet tamoul, JA, 7, 1916.

606. Vinson J., R. cerebral en dravidien, JA, 13, 1919 Appendix I: Book Reviews.

607. Vinson J., Manuel de la langue tamoule, Paris, 1903.

608. Vorobjev—Desjatovskij V.S., K voprosu o roli substrata v razvitii indoarijskich jazykov (On the Role of Substratum in the Development of Indo-Aryan), SV, 1956, No. 1.

609. Vreese K.D., A Dravidian Turn in Apabhraṁsa, JRAS, 1954.

610. Webb R., Evidences of the Scythian Affinities of the Dravidian Languages, JAOS, 7, 1887.

611. Williams M., Application of the Roman Alphabet to the Languages of India, London, 1859.

612. Williamson H.D., Gondi Grammar and Vocabulary, London, 1890.

613. Winfield W.W., A Grammar of the Kui Language, Calcutta, 1928.

614. Würth, Short Grammar of the Ancient Dialect of the Canarese Language. ?

615. Ziegenbalg B., Grammatica Damulica, Halae Saxonum, 1716.

616. Ziegler F., A Practical Key to the Kanarese Language, Mangalore, 1953.

617. Zilva Wickremasinghe M., Tamil Self-Taught, London, s.a.

618. Zvelebil K., The Enclitic Vowels in Modern Tamil, Ar.Or., 22, 1954.

619. Zvelebil K., The Present State of Dravidian Philology, TC, 4, 1, 1955.

620. Zvelebil K., A Note on Tamil Syntax, Tc, 5, 1, 1956.

621. Zvelebil K., One Hundred Years of Dravidian Comparative Philology Ar.Or., 24, 4, 1956; repr.: TC, 9, 2, 1961.

622. Zvelebil K., Tentative Periodization of the Development of Tamil, TC, 6, 1, 1957.

623. Zvelebil K., Participial and verbal Nouns as Predicates in Early Old Tamil, Ar.Or., 24, 4, 1957; repr.: TC, 8, 3, 1959.

624. Zvelebil K., Iṉiyavaināṭpatu: a Study in Late Old Tamil Philology, Ar.OR., 26, 2, 1958.

625. Zvelebil K., The Existence of Adverbs in Tamil TC, 8, 1, 1959.

626. Zvelebil K., Dravidian Philology—General Linguistics and Early History of India, SPV, 1961.

627. Zvelebil K., More about Adverbs and Adjectives in Tamil, TC., 9, 3, 1961.

628. Zvelebil K., How to handle the Structure of Tamil, Ar.Or., 30, 1, 1962.

629. Zvelebil K. (and Viswanathan S.), Dialects of Tamil I—III, Ar.Or., 27-28, 1959-60.

APPENDIX I: BOOK REVIEWS

1. Andronov M.: S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, History of Tamil Lnguage and Literature—KSIV, 28, 1958.

2. Asher R.E.: T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau, A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary—JRAS, 1962.

3. Bloch J.: Tamil Lexicon—BSL, 37, 3, 1936.

4. Bloch J.: A. N. Narasimhia, A Grammar of the Oldest Kanarese Inscriptions—BSL, 43, 2, 1947.

5. Bloch J.: Gai G.S., Historical Grammar of Old Kannada—BSL, 43, 2 1947.

6. Bloch J.: Sankaran C.R. and Sekhar A.C., Middle Dravidian Morphology—BSL, 43, 2, 1947.

7. Bright W.: M. B. Emeneau, Kolami, a Dravidian Language—Lg, 12, 1956.

8. Burrow T.: A. N. Narasimhia, A Grammar of the Oldest Kanarese Inscriptions—BSO(A)S, 11, 1943.

9. Burrow T.: J. Bloch, Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes—BSO(A)S, 12, 1, 1947.

10. Burrow T.: A. Master, An Introduction to Telugu Grammar,—BSO(A)S, 12, 2, 1948.

11. Burrow T.: G. S. Gai, Hitorical Grammar of Old Kannada—BSO(A)S, 12, 2, 1948.

12. Burrow T.: M. B. Emeneau, Kota Texts—JRAS, 1949.

13. Burrow T.: S. Bhattacharya, Ollari a Dravidian Speech—BSO(A)S, 22, 3, 1959.

14. Emeneau M.B.: S. Bhattacharya, Ollari, a Dravidian Speech—Lg, 34, 1, 1958.

15. Glazov Y.Y.: S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, History of Tamil Language and Literature—SV, 3, 1958.

16. Ganeshsundaram P.C.: M. Andronov, Tamil language —IL, 22, 1961.

17. Ganeshundaram P.C. :· Tamil-Russian Dictionary—TC, 9, 4, 1961.

18. Godakumbura C.E., P. S. Subramanya Sastri, Tolkappiyam (Collatikāram)—JRAS, 1946.

19. Kalelkar N.G. : J. Bloch, The Grammatical Structure of the Dravidian Languages—JBBRAS, 29, 1954.

20. Krishnamurti Bh. : W. Bright, An Outline of Colloquial Kannada,—Lg, 36, 1960.

21. Kuiper F.B.J. : J. Bloch, Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes—AO, 20, 1948.

22. Kuiper F.B.J. : M. B. Emeneau, Kolami a Dravidian Language—IIJ, 2, 3, 1958.

23. Kuiper F.B.J. : M. Andronov, Razgovornyj tamiljskij jazyk i ego dialekty, IIJ, 6, 3-4, 1963.

24. Lisker L. : C. R. Sankaran, Phonemics of Old Tamil—JAOS, 72, 1952.

25. Lisker L. : A. C. Sekhar, Evolution of Malayalam—JAOS, 74, 1954.

26. Lisker L. : T. Burrow and S. Bhattacharya, The Parji Language—JAOS, 77, 1957.

27. Lisker L. : T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau, a Dravidian Etymological Dictionary—JAOS, 82, 1962.

28. Master A. : K. Godavarma, Indo-Aryan Loan-Words in Malayalam—JRAS, 1948.

29. Master A. : M. B. Emeneau, Kota Texts—BSO(A)S, 12, 2, 1948.

30. Master A. : J. Bloch, Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes—JRAS, 1949.

31. Master A. : T. Burrow and S. Bhattacharya, The Parji language—BSO(A)S, 18, 1, 1956.

32. Master A. : M. B. Emeneau, Kolami, a Dravidian language— BSO(A)S, 21, 1, 1958.

33. Master A.: bh. Krishnamurti, Telugu verbal bases—JRAS, 1962, pt. 3-4.

34. Matthews G.: P. Meile, Introduction au tamoul—BSO(A)S, II, 1946.

35. Mayrhofer M.: G. S. Gai, Historical Grammar of Old Kannada—An, 47, 1952.

36. Mayrhofer M.: T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau, A Dravidian etymological dictionary—" Kratylos " 6, 2, Wiesbaden, 1961. Appendix 2: Dictionaries.

37. Meile P.: J. Bloch, Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes—BSL, 43, 2, 1947.

38. Paper H.H.: N. Lahovary, La Diffusion de langues anciennes du Proche-Orient—Lg, 34, 4, 1958.

39. Printz W.: D. S. Bray, The Brahui language—ZDMG, 89, 1935.

40. Printz W.: L. V. Ramaswami Aiyer, The Evolution of Malayalam morphology—ZDMG, 90, 1936.

41. Sankaran C.R.: A. N. Narasimhia, A Grammar of the oldest Kanarese inscriptions—BDCPRI, 4, 1942.

42. Schrader F. O.: T. Burrow and S. Bhattacharya, The Parji language—ZDMG, 106, 2, 1956.

43. Sekhar A.C.: K. Godavarma, Indo-Aryan Loan-Words in Malayalam—JAOS, 70, 1950.

44. Thompson M.S.H.: A. Master, Introduction to Telugu Grammar—JRAS, 1948.

45. Tuttle E.H.: K. Ramakrishnaiah, Studies in Dravidian Philology—JAOS, 57, 1937.

46. Tuttle E.H.: D. S. Bray, The Brahui language—JAOS, 56, 1936.

47. Zvelebil K.: T. Burrow and S. Bhattacharya, The Parji language—Ar.Or., 24, 1956.

48. Zvelebil K.: W. Bright, An Outline of Colloquial Kannada—Ar.Or., 28, 1960.

49. Zvelebil K.: M. Andronov, Tamil language—Ar.Or. 29, 1961.

50. Zvelebil K.: A Tamil-Russian Dictionary—Ar.Or., 29, 1961.

APPENDIX 2:

DICTIONARIES OF DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

1. Andronov M., Ibragimov A. and Mikhailova N., A Russian-Tamil Dictionary, Moscow, in print.

2. Appadurai Pillai K.: Kazhagam English-Tamil Dictionary Madras, 1957.

3. Bailey B., A Dictionnary of High and Colloquial Malayalim and English, Cottayam, 1846.

4. Bleses C., An English-Uraon Dictionary, Ranchi, 1956.

5. Blin A., Dictionnaire française-tamoul et tamoul-française, Paris, 1832.

6. Bray D.S., The Brahui language, vol. 3, Delhi, 1934.

7. Brown C.P., A Dictionary, Telugu and English explaining the Colloquial Style used in business and the Poetical Dialect, Madras, 1903.

8. Brown C.P., English-Telugu Dictionary, Madras, 1853.

9. Brown C.P., Dictionary of Mixed Telugu, Madras, 1854.

10. Brown W., A vocabulary of Gentoo and English, Madras, 1818.

11. Bücher J., A Kannada-English School Dictionary, Mangalore, 1923.

12. Campbell A.D., A Dictionary of the Telugoo Language, Madras, 1821.

13. Dawson J., Gondi Words and Phrases, JASB, 39, 1, 1870.

14. Dawson J., Additional Gondi Vocabulary, JASB, 39, 1, 1870.

15. A Dictionary of the English and Malabar Languages, Vepery, 1786.

16. A Dictionary: Tamil and English, based on J. P. Fabricius's "Malabar-English Dictionary", Tranquebar, 1933.

17. Ē. Ār. Pi., Bhāṣānighaṇḍu, Kunnamkuḷam, 1952.

18. Ellias E. and Isaac E., Udaya Malayalam-English Dictionary, Kottayam, 1958.

19. The Excelsior Junior School Dictionary (English-English-Tamil), Madras, 1954.

20. The Excelsior Senior School Dictionary (English-English-Tamil), Madras, 1956.

21. Galletti di Cadilhac A., A Dictionary of Current Telugu, London, 1935.

22. Gopalakrishnan R. and Ramanujam A., Srimagal Junior Dictionary (English-English-Tamil), Madras, 1956.

23. The Great LIFCO Dictionary (English-English-Tamil), Madras, 1959.

24. Grignard A., An Oraon-English Dictionary, St. Gabriel-Mödling, 1924.

25. Gundert H., A Malayalam and English Dictionary, Mangalore 1872.

26. Hahn F., Kurukh-English Dictionary, Calcutta, 1903.

27. Ke. Ār. B. Śabdārtha ratnākaram (putiya malayāḷa nighaṇḍu), Kōḷikkōṭu, 1953.

28. Kittel F., A Kannada-English Dictionary, Mangalore, 1894.

29. Lap M.A., Vocabulaire tamoul-française, Pondichery, 1926.

30. The Little LIFCO Dictionary (English-English-Tamil), Madras, 1957.

31. Männer A., A Tulu-English Dictionary, Mangalore, 1886.

32. Männer A., English-Tulu Dictionary, Mangalore, 1888.

33. Maturait tamiḻ pērakarāti, 1—2 pākaṅkaḷ, Ceṉṉai, 1956.

34. Metz F., A Vocabulary of the Dialect Spoken by the Todas of the Nilagiri Mountains, MJLS, 1—2, 1856-57.

35. Morris J.C., English-Telugu dictionary, Madras, 1837.

36. Mousset L. et Dupuis L., Dictionnaire tamoul-française, Pondichery, 1895.

37. Mousset L. et Dupuis L., Dictionnaire française-tamoul, Pondichery, 1911.

38. Narasinga Rao, A kisamwâr Glossary of Ḳanarese Words, Mangalore, 1891.

39. Nārāyaṇappaṇikkār Ār., Navayuga bhāṣānighaṇḍu, Parts 1—2, Trivandrum, 1951-54.

40. The New English-Malayalam Dictionary: ed. by K. Gopala Pillai, N. Bappu Rao, K. G. Sankar, Quilon, 1955.

41. Nicholas J., A small English-Telugu dictionary, Madras, 1841.

42. Parasuramiah Y., The Little LIFCO Dictionary (English-English-Telugu), Madras, 1957.

43. Pavāṉantam Piḷḷai Pa., Tatkālat tamiḻccollakarāti, London 1952.

44. Percival P., An English-Tamil dictionary, Madras, 1953.

45. Percival P., A Telugu-English dictionary, Madras, 1886.

46. Piyātikōrski A.Mo., Rūtiṉ Se.Kē., Tamiḻ-Rusya akarāti-Māskō, 1960.

47. Ramalingam Pillai T., An English-English-Malayalam Dictionary, Vols. 1—2, Trivandrum, 1956.

48. Ramanathan P., The Encyclopaedic English-Tamil Dictionary, Vol. 1, Madras, 1936.

49. Ramanathan R., The Twentieth Century Tamil Dictionary, Madras, 1909.

50. Raman Menon K., The V. V. English-Malayalam Dictionary, Quilon, 1957.

51. Reeve W., A Dictionary: Carnataka and English, Madras, 1832.

52. Sanderson D., A Dictionary Canarese and English, Bangalore, 1858.

53. Sankaranarayana P., An English-Tamil Dictionary, Madras, 1908.

54. Sankaranarayana P., An English-Telugu Dictionary, Madras, 1951.

55. Sankaranarayana P., A Telugu-English Dictionary, Madras, 1953.

56. Schulze F.V.P., Vocabulary of the Kuvi-Kond Language with Short Sentences on General Subjects for Conversational Purposes, Madras, 1913.

57. Sitaramacharyulu B., Śabdaratnākaramu: a Dictionary of the Telugu language, Madras, 1958.

58. Stevenson R., A collection of words from the language of the Todas, the chief tribe of the Nilgiri Hills, JBBRAS, 1, 4, 1842.

59. Stevenson R., A comparative vocabulary of non-Sanskrit vocables of the vernacular languages of India, JBBRAS, 5, 1852.

60. Swaminatha Aiyer T.A., The School Dictionary: English—English-Tamil, Madras, 1954.

61. Tamil Lexicon: Published under the Authority of the University of Madras, vols. I-VII, Madras, 1924-39.

62. Umapathy T.S. and Selvarajan P., The Elite Dictionary English—English-Tamil, Madras, 1955.

63. Visvanatha Pillai V., A Dictionary Tamil and English, Madras, 1951.

64. Winfield W.W., A Vocabulary of the Kui Language, Calcutta, 1929.

65. Winslow M., A Comprehensive Tamil and English Dictionary of High and Low Tamil, Madras, 1862.

66. Zacharias T., A Malayalam-English School Dictionary, Mangalore, 1921.

67. Ziegler F., The English-Kanarese Dictionary, Mangalore, 1929.

ABBREVIATIONS

AA — American Anthropologist, New Haven.

ABRI — Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona.

AJP — American Journal of Philology.

An — Anthropos, Wien.

AO — Acta Orientalia, Leiden.

AORM — Annals of Oriental Research, Madras.

Ar.Or. — Archiv Orientální, Praha.

BDA — Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

BDCPRI — Bulletin of the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona.

BEFEO — Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris.

BIHP — Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica.

BKI — Bulletin Koninklijk Instituut, Leiden.

BPS — Bulletin of Phonetic Studies, Mysore.

BRABL — Boletin de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona.

BRVRI — Bulletin of the Ravi Varma Research Institute.

BSEI — Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Indochinoises.

BSGI — Bulletino della Societá Geographica Italiana.

BSL — Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.

BSO(A)S — Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies, London University.

CASIP — Commentarii Academiae Scientiarum Imperialis Petropolitanae (St. Petersburg).

DAN — Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moscow.

DS — Dravidic Studies, Madras.

DVV — Hindī-anuśīlan, Dhīrendra Varmā viśeṣaṁk, 1960.

EAEEO — Études asiatiques de l'Ecole de Extrême-Orient Hanoī.

ERM — Educational Review, Madras.

GK — Gengo Kenkyu, Tokio.

GRM — Germanisch-romanische Monatschrift.

IA — Indian Antiquary, Bombay.

ICL — Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Linguists, Oslo.

IER — Indian Evangelical Review.

JIA — Journal of the Indian Archipelago.

IIJ — Indo-Iranian Journal, 's-Gravenhage.

IJAL — International Journal of American Linguistics, Indiana University.

IL — Indian Linguistics.

JA — Journal Asiatique, Paris.

JAOS — Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven.

JASB — Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

JAU — Journal of the Annamalai University.

JBBRAS — Journal of tho Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JDL — Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta.

JDMG — Jahresbericht der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig.

JI — Jazyki Indii, Moscow, 1961.

JMU — Journal of the Madras University.

JORM — Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.

JRAS — Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

KSIV — Kratkije soobshchenija Instituta vostokovedenija Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moscow.

LCP — Language, Culture and Personality, Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941.

Lg — Language, Baltimore.

MCCM — Madras Christian College Magazine.

MCM — Maharaja's College Magazine, Ernakulam,

MJLS — Madras Journal of Letters and Science.

Mi.Ma.Ma. — Te.Po.Mī.Maṇiviḷā Malar, Annamalainagar, 1961.

MSL — Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.

MSOS — Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu, Berlin.

NAA — Narody Asii i Afriki, Moscow.

NIA — New Indian Antiquary, Bombay.

OC — Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference.

PAOS — Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, New Haven.

PAPS — Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

RI — Russkij invalid, St. Petersburg.

RL — Revue de linguistique, Paris.

RO — Rocznik orientalistyczny, Warszawa.

SKBAW — Sitzungsberichte der königlichen böhmischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, München.

SKBGW — Sitzungsberichte der königlichen böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, München.

SPV — Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume, University of Madras.

SV — Sovetskoje vostokovedenije, Moscow.

TBG — Tijdschrift Bataviaasch Genootschap, Leiden.

TC — Tamil Culture, Madras.

TLCD — Transactions of the Linguistic Circle of Delhi.

TPS — Transactions of the Philological Society, London.

UCR — University of Ceylon Review.

UJ — Uralaltaïsche Jahrbücher.

UZIV — Uchenyje zapiski Institua vostokvedenija Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moscow.

VIRGO — Vestnik Russkogo Imperatorskogo Geograficheskogo Obshchestva, St. Petersburg.

VPP — Vaṅgīya sāhitya pariṣad patrikā, Calcutta.

ZDMG — Zeitschrift der deutschen morganländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig.

ZKM — Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

A note on Periathamby Marikkar—a 17th Century Commercial Magnate

S. ARASARATNAM

The Seventeenth century saw a tremendous increase in European participation in Indian commerce. It was also the age when the volume and extent of trade carried on by Indian traders reached its highest point. Up to a point, these two developments were inter-connected. The increase in European investment in various Indian markets increased the circulation of capital in India and enlarged opportunities for Indian middlemen and suppliers. Indians who started on a small scale as suppliers to the Europeans amassed fortunes and in turn became exporters. The second half of the 17th century saw an immense increase in Indian shipping. Both the English and the Dutch records of this period complain of the glut of textiles introduced into South East Asian markets by Indian shippers. Both the increasing demand for goods caused by European competition and the relative peace and good government enjoyed by the Indian sub-continent seem to have combined to produce this golden age of Indian trade - literally a golden age because the balance of trade was heavily in India's favour and the balance was maintained only by the import into India of large quantities of bullion.

This hectic activity produced a few dominating figures in the various regions—a type of merchant prince, a large scale operator wielding influence both over trade and government of a particular area. The most famous of these is perhaps Mir Jumla flourishing at first in Golconda then in Bengal, an administrator cum monopolist trader with interests extending, among other places, to Ceylon, Tennasserim and Atchin. The European records are littered with accounts of his conflicts

with the English and the Dutch, a subject which has ben studied in detail by his biographers. Of a somewhat lesser proportion and rather different type is a personality we confront in the Malabar coast, Ali Raja (referred to by Europeans of the time as Adrasia or Adersia) a recognised and titled leader of the Muslim mercantile community of that coast. The Dutch thought him important enough to contract a peace treaty with him in 1664 and looked on him as one of the main obstacle to their attempts to monopolise the spices of Malabar.[1]

In the southernmost tip of India, there flourished in the latter part of the 17th century such a personality of influence and power. Peria Thamby Marikkar was domiciled in Ramnad in the principality of the Thevar who was himself a free-lord owing allegiance to the Nayak of Madura. The dwindling authority of the Nayaks had made the Thevar almost an independent ruler in his domains. On account of the geographical position of his principality the Thevar attached great importance to trade. A good number of his inhabitants derived their income from pearl and chank-fishing and from trade, and the control of the straits of Rameshvaram gave the Thevar a commanding position over the trade that passed from the west coast of India to the east coast. This was perhaps the reason why a number of Muslims were settled down in Ramnad. Their influence was strong and both they and the Thevar were mutually interested in the promotion of trade. This forms the background to the position held by Periathamby Marikkar who was the most powerful member of the Muslim community of Ramnad. From fragmentary evidence in contemporary Dutch records, it is possible to furnish some idea of the nature and extent of his activities.

Periathamby Marikkar was an active participant in the country trade of India. There is evidence that he sent vessels to Bengal, both his own and on behalf of the Thevar, loaded

1 *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum*, Ed. Heeres, II (The Hague, 1930) pp. 264-6.

with chanks which were a commodity greatly valued in that province. There was a good deal of trading from the ports of that area like Nagapatnam, Porto Novo and Thirumulaivasal with ports on the other end of the Bay of Bengal such as Malacca and Atchin. Marikkar must have taken part in this trade too. After a system of passes was instituted by the Dutch, the Thevar kept asking the Dutch for passes on behalf of his subjects to sail to these places. European attempts to penetrate the country trade was the cause of much friction and was the root cause for disputes between the Dutch and prominent country traders such as Ali Raja and Periathamby Marikkar. To the West, there is evidence that vessels were sent with pearls and pearl-dust to Ormuz and returned with horses purchased for the Thevar's army.

Periathamby Marikkar was also involved in the trade between India and Ceylon. This consisted in shipping huge quantities of coarse cloth across the gulf of Mannar to the West coast ports of Ceylon from where arecanut was bought and taken back to Southern India. In 1684 Periathamby and two other Indians got together and offered to buy up the entire export of arecanut from Kalpitiya up to 15,000 amanams at a fixed price of 3½ Reals an amanam. They also undertook to deliver 600 to 700 lasts of rice in Colombo at the market price. The Ceylon Government agreed to this proposal because it would have enabled them to dispose of the arecanut of Ceylon, for the export of which they had sole monopoly, at a reasonable price. But it was turned down by the supreme Government of Bataria who would fain see the establishment of a monopoly in the arecanut trade on the Coromandel coast.[2]

One of the interesting aspects of the commerce of this area in this period is a running commercial warfare between the Dutch and Periathamby. The Dutch were seeking to monopolise as many articles of the country trade as possible. They tried to prevent the shipping of pepper from the Mala-

---

2 Laurens Pyl and Council to Governor General and Council 3 July 1684 Kol. Arch. 1285 Fos. 17-18 Gov. Gen. and Council to Pyl and Council, 6 November 1684 Kol. Arch. 814 fos. 525-6.

bar coast to Coromandel. They tried to lay hands on all the cloth produced along the Madura coast. They tried to become sole purchasers of all the pearls and chanks that were fished there and the sole suppliers of arecanut to Coromandel and Madura. All these aims were in conflict with the vital interests of Indian traders of the type of Periathamby. By 1670 the Dutch had extended their hold over the entire coast of Ceylon and thus monopolised its entire export—import trade. . Control of the trade on the South Indian coast was essential to make effective the monopoly of the Ceylon trade and, of course, to provide further levers for the inter-Asian trade system into which the Dutch had entered in a massive way.

Periathamby sought to break through Dutch monopoly areas by the usual means of smuggling. He sent his small boats to the West coast of Ceylon between Mannar and Puttelam where the waters were shallow. He would have his contacts among the Kandyans who were also trying their best to break the Dutch monopoly.[3] It was also in his intrests to make the sale of chanks and pearls as competitive as possible and forestall any attempt at bulk-buying. And it would naturally have given him the highest profit to transport as much of these rare commodities as possible himself to the markets when they were most desired. It was here that the superior naval strength lodged by the Dutch in these parts came as a serious obstacle. If his and other Indian vessels were not to be attacked on the high seas they had to carry Dutch passes. In the issue of passes the Dutch could restrict the nature and amount of goods carried to particular places in the interests of their own commerce. Periathamby reacted to this by encouraging the English and later the French into this region. He tried to send ships with English and French passes which the Dutch, as long as they were at peace with these nations, had to respect. He also tried to induce them to come into the Thevar's domains and open up trading stations, though not with any great success.

3 Minutes of Political Council of Ceylon 17 February, 1690. Dutch Records 31 (Ceylon Govt. Archives) ff. 50-53.

However, these two nations were becoming active buyers of country produce of this region—such as arecanuts, chanks, pearls and cloth—towards the end of the 17th century. The Dutch were beginning to get worried at the frequency with which English and French vessels called at the Thevar's ports and asked for instructions from home whether hostile action could be taken against these vessels. The Directors ruled out any hostile action.[4]

Yet another interest of Periathamby was to keep the sailing through the Pamban channel free to native vessels and boats so that arecanuts and especially pepper from Malabar could be brought across to the East coast ports. This too the Dutch were trying to prevent by cruisers that they stationed on the western end of the channel. Periathamby was active in helping the boats to avoid Dutch capture and sneak through. When these boats were chased they would sneak into the Thevar's ports where their goods would be unloaded and taken overland. In the conflict waged with the Thevar compelling him to close this traffic to goods which they declared contraband, the Dutch recognised that the man behind the Thevar encouraging him to assert the right of free trade was Periathamby.[5]

There is also evidence that Periathamby was the chief supplier of cloth produced in Ramnad to the coastal traders. Thus we find his name mentioned among an association of native merchants of Madura and Ramnad who supplied cloth to the Dutch.[6] Yet another such association formed by the Dutch in Nagapatnam contains the name Sinnathamby Marikkar, who was in all probability a brother of Periathamby. Again Thomas Van Rhee, Governor of Ceylon, (1692—7) asserted that the purchase and price of cloth in Kilkarai could be improved if Periathamby 'who

4 Gov. Gen. and Council to Pyl and Council, 6 November 1684 Kol. Arch. 814 fo. 526-7 Gov. Gen. and Council to Directors, 30 November 1684 Kol. Arch. 1283 fo. 124.

5 Gov. Gen. and Council to Directors, 30 November 1706 Kol. Arch. 1608 fo. 313.

6 *Memoir of Thomas Van Rhee for his successor* (Colombo 1915) p. 35.

has the entire management of this business, would only make an effort in that direction'.[7] He goes on to say that Periathamby has the ability to fix the market price of the goods and deliberately keeps it high to benefit himself.

Given such dominance over the commerce of the area, it becomes easy to understand Periathamby's great political power and influence. He is often referred to in the Dutch records as the Thevar's 'factotum,' the evil genius behind his anti-Dutch policy. Succeeding Governors and trade officials singled him out for special abuse. There is a good deal of evidence to bring out this influence. In 1682 Thevar, taking advantage of the weakness and preoccupations of the Nayak of Madura, expanded into the land along the coast line towards Tuticorin. He appointed Periathamby the tax collector of these new lands who in turn sent his men out to collect taxes from the Paravas who mainly occupied these parts. This brought up the old dispute between the Muslims and Paravas of the coast, a dispute that dated back to the times of the first Portuguese entry into the Madura coast. The Paravas protested against the Muslim officials and an ugly situation developed. The Dutch who tended to favour the Paravas, interceded on their behalf with the Thevar and sent one of their trusted Indian friends, one Thimmarasa, as envoy to patch up the matter. Knowing the purpose of this mission, Periathamby used his influence against it and even went to the extent of instigating an attack and plunder of Thimmarasa's residence. It was the threat of strong action by the Dutch that later influenced the Thevar to withdraw his Muslim officers from the Parava lands. Periathamby's other reported actions like siezing vessels, imprisoning certain merchants also shows that he had some administrative and judicial authority in the land.[8]

In a treaty signed between the Dutch and the Thevar in March 1685 one of the clauses stated that "in order that the Company may be reassured of His Excellency's (the

7 *Memoir of Thomas Van Rhee* pp. 36-7.

8 Larens Pyl and Council to Governor General and Council, 3 July 1684 Kol. Arch. 1285 fos. 88-89.

Thevar's) good will, those who injure the Company such as Periathamby Marikkar, his two sons and his brothers and all other Moors who are associated with them, shall be removed from now on from all administration and authority of the lands from Kalimere to Cape Comorin and never more shall Moors be appointed there or in any other service."[9] It does not seem that this condition was acted upon as it was again repeated in a subsequent treaty of 1690, and, in any case, Dutch complaint over Periathamby's influence continues for a long time.

Whenever the pearl fishery was carried out on a large scale around Tuticorin, the Thevar enjoyed certain traditional privileges. These rights were exercised by Periathamby. Thus in the fishery of 1697, Periathamby played an important role. He used his influence to set up a ring of purchasers who would keep prices down and thus deprived the Dutch of their profits. The Dutch were so annoyed at this procedure that they ordered the seizing of his vessels at Tuticorin, Puttelam and Mannar. This was disapproved by the authorities at Batavia and the vessels were released.[10]

This brief account gives a modest glimpse of the activities of an Indian 'country' captain. The main point that emerges is the continuous tension that seems to have been prevalent between his interests and those of the Dutch East India Company. His relations, however, with the English and the French seems to have been mutually profitable and this is to be explained primarily by the different trade policies of the Dutch on the one hand and the English and French on the other. The other point of interest is the smoothness of his relations with his sovereign and the great confidence with which the latter had entrusted his vital trading interests in the hands of Periathamby.

9 *Corpus Diplomaticum III.* p. 378.

10 Gov. Gen. and Council to Directors, 6 December 1698 Kol. Arch. 1488. fo. 164.

Some Data on South Indian Cultural Influences in South East Asia

The history of the origin and development of the Old Filipino script

V. A. MAKARENKO

Nowadays we have detailed and well grounded data on South Indian cultural influences in South East Asia. Quite a number of serious scientific researches were dedicated to the South Indian and Ceylonese, particularly to the Tamil, contribution to the cultural development of the countries of that part of Asia. A simple enumeration of the most important works that investigate various ways and spheres of South Indian influences in Burma, Thailand, Funan, Champa, Cambodia, Malaya, Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan (Borneo), Sulavesi (Celebes), Bali, Philippines and the works of a more general character by their predecessors makes an impressive bibliography.

Such European scientists (Frenchmen, Dutch, Englishmen mainly) as G. Maspero, H. Parmentier, G. de Coral Remusat, Ph. Stern, G. Coedès, N. J. Krom, W. Fr. Stutterheim, P. Mus, R. Heine-Geldern, H. G. Quaritch-Wales, P. Schnitger and some others as well as famous Indian and Ceylonese men of science K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, R. C. Majumdar, A. F. Ananda Coomaraswamy, Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, S. J. Gunasegaram made a valuable contribution to the complex study of that problem.[1]

---

1 *G. Maspero*, Histoire générale de l'art, Paris, 1912; Histoire ancient des peoples de l'Orient classique. T. 1-2, Paris, 1895—99.

H. Parmentier. L'art architectual hindou dans L'Inde et en Extrême-Orient. Paris, 1948.

Ph. Stern, L'art du Champa et son evolution. Paris, 1942.

G. Coedès, Les etáts hinnóuisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie. Paris, 1948.

W. Fr. Stutterheim, Indian influences in old-Balinese art. Tr. from the Dutch. Lnd., 1935; Studies in Indonesian archaeology. The Hague, Nijhoff, 1956.

As to the archaeological researches in the countries of South East Asia here the most important contribution was made by the French Professor George Coedès who worked in Indo-China and the Dutch Professor N. J. Krom, who has made the archaeological studies of Java. The works of those who support the theory of the predominant Dravidian influences in South East Asia (K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, D. G. E. Hall[2] and some others) are based on the works of G. Coedès and N. J. Krom.

There is an interesting book written by H. G. Quaritch-Wales mentioned above, that describes some facts of Tamil influence on the social life, state administration and some religious ceremonies of Thailand (Siam).[3] A number of books and articles by R. C. Majumdar, H. Parmentier, G. Groslier, J. Leuba, Silpa Birasri and others was written about the influence of art and architecture of Tamil Nad on some countries of South East Asia.[4] There is an article by P. Dupont about the role of Greater Tamil Nad in the propagation of Indian religious, Vishnuism in particular, on these countries.[5] The Tamil influence is strongly felt in the literature of a number of countries of that region, in the literature of Thailand, for example. Dr. Kamil Zvelebil, the Chechoslovakian dravidologist, in one of his articles distin-

---

R. Heine-Geldern, The Archaeology and Art of Sumatra in Sumatra. Its History and People, by Edwin M. Loeb, Vienna, 1935.

H. G. Quaritch-Wales, The Making of Greater India. London, 1951.

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, South Indian Influences in the Far East. Bombay, 1949; History of Sri. Vijaya, Madras, 1949; A History of South India, 1955.

R. C. Majumdar, Hindu Colonies in the Far East, Calcutta, 1944.

2 *D. G. E. Hall,* A history of South-East Asia, transl. into Russian, Moscow, 1958.

3 *H. G. Quaritch-Wales,* Siamese State Ceremonies, London, 1931.

4 *R. C. Majumdar,* o.c.; *H. Parmentier,* Le Sanctuaire de Po-Nagar a Nhatrang, BEFEO, II; *G. Groslier,* Danseuses Cambodgiennes, Paris, 1913; *J. Leuba,* Les Chams et leur are, Paris, 1923; *Silpa Birasri,* Thai Buddhist Sculpture, Bangkok, 1954; *Beryl de Zoete and Walter Spies,* Dance and Drama in Bali, London, 1950 (?); *Dhaanit Yupho,* Classical Siamese Theatre, Bangkok, 1952.

5 *P. Dupont,* Visnus mitres de l'Indochine Occidentale, BEFEO, V. XLI.

guishes clearly the main trends of Tamil influences not only on South East Asia, but Tamil cultural contribution to world civilization in general.[6]

Xavier S. Thani Nayagam in his article in "Tamil Culture" gives a detailed review of the most important investigations on Tamil cultural influences in South East Asia and put some questions that need further study.[7] The work by S. J. Gunasegaram, based upon the newest archaelogical discoveries in various countries of that region, is of great interest. Besides this work gives a collection of reliable old and new facts (authentic old and new data) about Dravidian (Tamil particularly) cultural influences in the Philippines.[8]

I. South Indian Influence on Philippine Languages

The Philippines as well as some other countries of South East Asia were under the strong influence of South Indian (Dravidian) culture, especially Tamil culture. However the historical data of the Philippine Islands up to the Spanish invasion (the first quarter of 16-th century) are rather scanty, based generally on the early (mediaeval) Portuguese and Spanish Chronicles. Archaeological researches in the Philippines were made for the first time in the twenties and thirties of the twentieth century and were interrupted by the World War II and resumed in the fifties. Recently some interesting facts were discovered as the result of the geological explorations of the whole country and of special excavations.[9] For instance, there were discovered in the post-war time the remnants of South Indian and Ceylonese

---

6 *Phya Anuman Rajadhon*, Thai Literature in the Thailand Culture Series;

Kamil Zvelebil, "Tamil Culture," Vol. V, No. 4, oct. 1956.

7 *Xavier S. Thani Nayagam*, Tamil Cultural Influences in South East Asia, "Tamil Culture," Vol. IV. No. 3, July, 1955.

8 *S. J. Gunasegaram*, Early Tamil Cultural Influences in South East Asia. Colombo, 1957.

9 *Ch. O. Houston*, Progress in Philippine Archaeology: 1953—1957. "University of Manila Journal of East Asiatic Studies," v. V, No. 2, pp. 213-228.

bronzes of the 10th-12th centuries (Indian bronzes of the 10th-12th from South India and Ceylon), which are mentioned in the work by S. J. Gunasegaram.

But still these are separate facts only, and it is impossible to make serious conclusions. Probably in future there will be an opportunity to present the whole picture of South Indian cultural influences in the Philippines. At present we may only study and compare some indirect historical facts, that can help to clear up some general results of South Indian influence and the history of Philippines before the Spanish invasion. Such reliable data are found in the main Filipino languages and in their ancient scripts.

Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in his well-known work describes the most general character and ways of Hindu influence in South East Asia ;[10] he writes also about the parallel influence of Hinduism and Buddhism[11] in the countries of this area and about the spreading of Sanskrit in these countries.

Sanskrit was for a long period of time a main, if not the single means of the spreading of Indian culture, literature and religious thought of Indians. There are now many Sanskrit words in the main languages of the Philippines (Tagalog, Bisayan, Ilocano, Bicol, Pampango, Pangasinan etc.). These words belong often to the basic vocabulary of the language. Thus in Tagalog which from July 4, 1946 is the official language of the Republic of the Philippines and which is one of the most developed languages of the country, we find such words as *mukhâ* 'face' (cf. Tamil முகம்), *hari* 'tzar', 'king' (from hariḥ), *budhî* 'conscience' (from buddhiḥ), *gansâ* 'goose' (from hamsa), *dukhâ* 'poor', *raha* 'raja', *liham* 'letter' (from likhâ), *basa* 'reading' (from bhāshā), *guro* 'teacher' (from guruḥ), *mamà* 'uncle' (cf. Tamil மாமன்)and many others. Sanskrit loans in Tagalog language were studied by the well-known Philippine linguist

10 K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, South Indian Influences, o.c., p. 122.

11 Ibid, p. 125-126, etc.

Prof. T. H. Pardo de Tavera.[12] The data about the origin of Tagalog numerals also are very interesting. The Sanskrit *lakh* (cf. Tamil லட்சம், இலட்சம், லக்ஷம்), which denotes 100.000, gave in Tagalog *Laksá* which denotes 10.000 (!). The Sanskrit *ayuta* developed in Tagalog into *Yudà.* which denotes 100.000. The Sanskrit *koṭi* (cf. Tamil கோடி), developed no doubt into the Tagalog *Kati*, which denotes 10.000.000 as well.

Pardo de Tavera following Ab. Favre considers that 2 (two) and some other Tagalog numerals also originated from Sanskrit.[13] This is hardly true. Quite by mere coincidence the numerals of the first ten (dozen) *isà*, *sa* 'one' *dalla/wà* 'two', *tatlò* 'three' resemble the corresponding numerals of the Indo-European languages. This was noted by the well-known Russian linguist Prof. E. D. Polivanov.[14]

As a matter of fact, the Tagalog numerals of the first dozen as well as the same numerals of the other languages of the Philippine Islands and of the languages of Indonesia, Malaya, Madagascar and of a number of Polynesian languages, have a common origin and are not connected with the Indo-Európean languages and the South Indian (Dravidian) languages. Doubt may arise in case of the numeral 'two' —*dawa*—*lawa*—*dua*—*lua*—in the Malayo-Polynesian languages (cf. with Sanskrit dwi).

For this we can fix such a lawfulness: Sanskrit loans in Tagalog have the glottal catch (stop) as usual and respective stress marks (ì or í).

The existence of Indian influence via Sanskrit is proved by the cult of the ancient Philippine god Bathalà, the very

---

12 *T. H. Pardo de Tavera*, El Sanscrito en la lengua Tagalog, Paris, 1887; cf. also "An Introductory Sketch of the Sanskrit Element in Malay" in a Manual of the Malay Language by *W. E. Maxwell*, 11-th ed. London, 1920, pp. 1-41.

13 *T. H. Pardo de Tavera*, Consideraciones sobre el origen del nombre de numeros en Tagalog, Manila, 1889, pp. 7-26.

14 *E. D. Polivanov*, "Historical linguistics and language policy" in his collection For Marxist Linguistics (in Russian l.), Federatsia Publ., Moscow, 1931, p. 18.

name of which, as some writers maintain, originated from Sanskrit awatara, bra-, brah-. Bathalà cult contains some elements of Indian Buddhism.[15]

However, one must not overestimate the influence of Sanskrit. The Tagalog language has some Tamil words also. The Tagalog (and Philippine in general) *katamaran* originated, undoubtedly, from the Tamil கட்டு மரம் and the Tagalog *mesa* 'table' probably, from the Tamil மேசை (மேஜை). We may suggest also that the Tagalog *pusà* 'cat' developed from பூசை (பூஞை, பூனை) in the Tamil language. Besides, quite a lot of the sanskritisms mentioned including numerals, are widely used in the Tamil language. Perhaps, it is from or via the Tamil language that they have penetrated into the Tagalog language.

In our opinion the Tamil influence accounts for the existence of a number of stable (steady) elements in the phonology, vocabulary and morphology of the Tagalog language, for example the traditional discharge the Gender of nouns (substantives) as lexico-semantic category, the presence of inclusive and exclusive forms of personal pronouns, I-st person plural and some other.

Thus, in Tamil nouns belong to neuter gender குழந்தை which have similar meaning in Tagalog and *baàta enká* pertain to a similar grammatical category, i.e. "common or indefinite gender". Tamil pronoun நாம் exactly corresponds in its meaning to *tayo* in Tagalog, pronoun நாங்கள் to *kami.*

In Tamil there are pronoun forms இது (corresponding to இவன் etc.) and அது (corresponding to அவன் etc.), which can be used only in respect of visible persons and articles. In Tagalog, *itó* and *iyán* correspond to the former and *iyón* and *yaón* to the latter. There is quite a number of other features in Tagalog phonetics and morphology which can be

---

15 *H. M. Wright,* A Handbook of Philippines, 2-nd ed., London, 1908, p. 139.

Anonymous, The Indian Community in the Philippines, "Univ. of Manila Journal of East Asiatic Studies," v. IV, No. I, Jan. 1955, pp. 41-42.

traced more or less confidently to Tamil influence on this language, e.g. change of sounds *o–u*, and *e–i*.

It ought to be also noted that all Sanskrit elements in Tagalog are Sanskritisms of the Tamil language which are commonly used in the latter. Besides, it is essential to note that as far as the sound composition (countenance) is concerned the Tagalog sanscritisms are very similar to the Tamil ones. For example, Sanskrit *koṭi* (கோடி in Tamil) is easier recognized in Tagalog *kati* than in Anglo-Hindi *crore*. This is one more fact which proves that the Indian influence in the Philippines was mostly Dravidian, and that Sanskrit did not reach the Filippines directly but via the Tamil language. It confirms once more that.... " the use of Sanskrit is no indication that the influences were not from the Tamil country or from the Tamil people ".[16] Besides it has not yet been proved that the first Sanskrit inscriptions in South East Asia as well as discovered relics of the Sanskrit literature show the earliest traces of Indian influence. This fact was pointed out by G. Coedes.[17] Data on Dravidian influences are still being accumulated. It is still difficult to make a final judgement as to who has contributed more to the creation of " Greater India ". It still remains to be seen. Yet, there is a possibility that it was through the Tamils that the Indian influence spread during the Gupta and Pallava periods.

In Tagalog and other Philippine languages there is a number of Chinese elements,[18] but unlike Sanskrit and Tamil ones they rarely belong to the words commonly used by the Filipinos and therefore, represent the later influence which is confirmed in historical respect as well.

It ought to be mentioned that the fact of South Indian cultural influence in the Philippines can hardly be proved by lexical borrowings only, since a vocabulary is the most active

---

16 *Xavier S. Thani Nayagam*, Tamil Cultural Influences, o.c., p. 218.

17 *G. Coedès*, Les etáts Hindouises, o.c., p. 35.

18 *E. A. Manuel*, Chinese elements in the Tagalog language. Filipiniana Publication, Manila 1948.

and changeable element of any language. It is difficult to find a language which would not contain borrowed words, it can be applied, in particular, to the so-called cultural vocabulary. Grammatical structure and writing (script) are the most conservative elements of a language.

Written literature is the foundation of the culture of a people. The history of writing is closely intertwined with the history of culture. In considerable degree owing to the writing achievements of civilizations have been preserved for progenier because it is a passive memory of a society. Therefore, affinity of the Old Filipino scripts with the Tamil writing is one of the most solid proofs of the Dravidian influence in the South East Asia.

II. Old Filipino scripts and a brief history of their study

Comparing with other sources available at the disposal of modern science it can be said that the Old Filipino scripts is one of the most well-grounded arguments in support of the South Indian influence on the Philippine Archipelago. It must be noted that there is very limited number of relics as far as this writing is concerned; there are no exact dates fixed for these relics, as well as of their appearance and for certain stages of its development.

Many a historian of the Philippine Archipelago and specialists in the history of the South East Asian countries are of opinion that rareness of the relics and unpopularity of the old Philippine writing can be explained by the persecution which local people suffered from the Spanish monks for the use of this writing. It was considered by them to be a "pagan prejudice" and a diabolical invention. The Spaniards destroyed most of the ancient manuscripts though during the first years of their occupation of the Islands they made the natives copy prayers translated for them into their own languages. Original scripts of the Philippine languages slowly but steadily were giving their place to the Latin characters. The last traces of Tagalog were discovered by P. Totanes in 1745 (see below), i.e. 180 years after the final

capture of the Philippine Archipelago by the Spanish expedition headed by Legaspi (1565), and 225 years after the discovery of the Islands by F. Magellan (1520).

The idea that records of Philippine writing were destroyed has been disputed by an Associate Professor of the Wisconsin University, USA, J.L. Phelan, who is of opinion that the ancient Filipinos used their characters on very rare occasions and that their literature existed mostly in oral form.[19] He makes the supposition that the Filipinos would have lost their writing had it not been for the appearance of the Spaniards in the Islands.

Of the relics of the old Philippine writing that has reached us of great interest are the law code "Maragtás" (13th century), and the law code "Kalantiao" going back to 15th century.

In the historical and philological literature about the Philippines one can often come across a phrase "old Filipino" script. The usage of it is true only for those cases when it refers to the old characters of different languages used by the natives of the Philippine Archipelago belonging to the Malayo-Polynesian linguistic family. The main Philippine languages are Tagalog, Bisoyan, Ilocano, Pampango, Pangasinan, Bicol, Ibanag, Sambal and Batan, most of which had their own scripts. There has never been any doubt as to the single system construction of the writing of these languages. It had been written about by the first Spaniards. The characters of all other languages was afterwards taken for various versions of the Old Tagalog script which had been studied to a greater extent than others.

Such well-known historians of the South East Asia as G. Coedés and D. G. E. Hall studied the characters of different people of this area in order to get more definite proofs as to the historical interconnections of the countries and peoples.[20]

---

19 *J. L. Phelan,* The Hispanization of Philippines, 1565—1700, The Univ. of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1952, pp. 18-19.

20 *G. Coedès,* Les etáts hindóuisés, o.c., p. 59; *D. G. E. Hall,* History of South-East Asia, o.c., pp. 34-35, etc.

The configuration of the letters, the methods of their combination, direction of writing and other features of the Old Filipino script were studied by various scholars in comparative historical aspects. Several books and a dozen of special articles have been written about the Old syllabic Filipino script. Besides, many authors in some way or other touched the subject of the Filipino writing. But most of this literature has now become a bibliographic rarity and partially went out of scientific circulation long ago.

Considerable and most valuable contribution to the study of the Old Filipino script was made by the Spanish missionaries mostly Jesuits. Of special interests are the works written by them before 1700 when latinization of the Filipino writing was mostly over, as their authors dealt directly with these scripts, witnessed their use and investigated the original sources which have now become inaccessible.

The history of the systematical study of the Philippine languages and the old Filipino scripts begins with the work of Pedro Chirino, Spanish Jesuit, printed in Rome in 1604.[21]

Father Chirino, as he is often called in literature, spent 40 years in the Philippines from 1595 to 1635 ; he possessed perfect knowledge of the history of the Islands and their ethnographic specialities, and was a brilliant connoisseur of Tagalog and a number of other languages of the Archipelago. He is the author of the following interesting information : " There is not a single language in the Philippines nor is there a general one which extends through them. But all, even though many are very different, are so alike that in a few days they may be understood and spoken ".[22] It is a commonly admitted that the samples of the characters, the order and inscription of letters of the old Tagalog alphabet found in the Chirino's book are the most trustworthy.

21 *Pedro Chirino*, Relacion de las islas Filipinas i de lo que en ellas |b| an trabajado los padres de la Compania de Jesus, Roma, MDCIV (1604).

22 *Cited from Cecilio Lopez*, The Language Situation in the Philippine Islands, I.P.R. pamphlet, Manila, 1931,, p. 7.

One of the first Tagalog grammars by father San Joseph was printed in 1610.[23] It was reprinted in 1752, and then in 1838. It was the first Tagalog grammar written by the Europeans. It contained certain additional information on the Tagalog writing; other works which became known to us were the Grammar of the Ilocana language by M. de Sante-Croix printed in 1617,[24] and a book by M. Thevenot with a chapter entirely devoted to the old Tagalog script (1696).[25] Both the works were used by M. Jacket in his article published in 1831.[26] Finally, a book by Fr. Colin was printed in 1863 which contained information, until then unknown, on the old Filipino scripts.[27]

All the other works related to the 18th and 19th centuries. Studies of the Old Filipino script by the historians of a later period differ in their scientific value. Therefore, only the most important of them should be dwelt upon. It is significant that many of these books contain analysis of either version of the old Tagalog and other old Philippine alphabets, mostly without reference to the writing relics since the latter and the practical use of the old writing could hardly be traced by that time, and then disappear all together.

Most of the historians fix 1703 as the year when the book about the Tagalog language by Father Gaspar de San Agustin was printed. It was published for the first time in 1787.[28] It had a new version of the old Tagalog alphabet sign inscription which slightly differs from the corresponding signs in the book by Chirino. Unlike the latter, the alphabet of G. de San Agustin has the only version of inscription for *a*, *ga* and *ta* that allows for a correct approach to the duplicate signs in Chirino's alphabet.

---

23 *San Joseph,* Arte y reglas de la lengua Tagala, Bataan, 1610.

24 *M. de Sainte-Croix,* Arte de la lengua ilocana, Manila, 1617.

25 *M. Thèvenot,* Relations de divers voyages curiens. Paris, 1696; T. H. Pardo de Tavera supposed his data borrowed from P. Chirino.

26 *M. Jacket,* Considerations sur les Alphabets des Philippines, "Nouveau Journal Aziatique de Paris," No. 7, 1831.

27 *Fr. Colin,* Labor evangélica, Madrid, 1663.

28 *G. de San Agustin,* Compendio de la arte de la lengua Tagala, Manila, 1787.

One of the most complete and competent Tagalog grammars is the one written by Father Sebastian de Totanes.[29] This book contained general knowledge of the old Tagalog graphic signs. Originally written as a manual of the Tagalog language for the missionaries, it was soon widely recognised and several times reprinted in the Philippines (in 1796 and 1850 in Manila, and in 1865 in Binondo). S. de Totanes was the last who had a chance to study the old Tagalog script in the original. The last traces of the Old Bisaya characters disappeared still earlier.

All other historians and linguists of the 18th and 19th centuries either analysed again few already known texts and samples of the old Philippine writing, or worked out a new approach to those historical facts on the basis of which certain conclusions have been made as regards the origin and history of the old alphabets of the Philippine languages. In that period some works on the Bisaya script were written by the Jesuit Father Ezguerra[30] and Father Méntrida.[31] Different data, new conclusions and hypotheses about the origin and development of the old Tagalog script were the subject of the lexicographical, grammatical and historical descriptive works of San Buenaventura,[32] J. Noceda, and P. Sanlucar,[33] Sinibaldo de Mas,[34] M. Mallat,[35] abbé Favre,[36] Stanley[37] etc. The most interesting and valuable from a scientific point of view are the researches of S. de Mas who, besides a thorough study of the old Tagalog writing, established the aphabets of the Pangasinan and Pampango

---

29 *S. de Totanes*, Arte de la lengua tagala, y Manual Tagalog, para la administración de los santos sacramentos que de orden de sus superiores, Sampaloc, 1745.

30 *P. Ezguerra*, Arte de la lengua Bisaya, Manila, 1747.

31 *P. Mêntrida*, Arte de la lengua Bisaya, Iliguaina de la isla de Panay, Manila, 1818.

32 *San Buenaventura*, Vocabulario de la lengua tagala, Sampaloc, 1794.

33 *J. Noceda y P. Sanlucar*, Vocabulario de la lengua tagala, Valladolid, 1832.

34 *S. de Mas*, Informe sobre los islas Filipinas, Madrid, 1843.

35 *M. Mallat*, Les Philippines, Paris, 1846.

36 *P. Favre*, Dictionnarie Malais-Français Vienne, 1875.

37 *Stanley*, The Philippine Islands, London, 1868.

and one of the versions of the Ilocana alphabet. He was one of the first who made a comparative study of old writings of various Philippine languages. De Mas conformed inscription of *nga* and *wa* in the old Tagalog writing which had been established by San Agustin.

In 1882 K. F. Holle published his interesting notes of great value about finds made by N. Ridel who had found 2 alphabets unknown before.[38] The first reminds greatly of the versions of the old Tagalog alphabets. The second is evidently of Philippine origin. Yet it is not yet known which of the Philippine languages had used the graphic signs found by Ridel. It may be assumed that the first alphabet is none the less than a decorative variant of the old Tagalog or the Old Bisaya script.

In the last quarter of 19th century there appeared two detailed works—the books of professor T. H. Pardo de Tavera [39] and the Augustin monk R. P. Fr. Sipriano Marcilla y Martin.[40]

Pardo de Tavera compiled the results of work of his predecessors, he made a comparative analysis of old characters of different Philippine languages, he confirmed their relationship and determined the most probable inscription of the graphic signs of this writing, the method of their use, and he also traced the evolution of some signs. R. P. Fr. Cipriano Marcilla y Martin published about 20 different versions, of the old Filipino alphabets, which includes the works by Francisco Lopes, P. Vigil, Adolpho Puy. These works contain the most substantial versions as regards the origin of the old Philippine writing since they are based on the later historical and linguistic achievements of that time. Actually they complete the history of research in respect of the old Filipino script. All subsequent works which in

38 *K. F. Holle,* Tabel van oud-en nieuw-indische alphabetten, S'Hage and Batavia, 1882.

39 *T. H. Pardo de Tavera,* Contribucion para el estudio de los Antiguos alfabetos Filipinos, Losana, 1884.

40 *R. P. Fr. Cipriano Marcilla y Martin,* Estudios de los Antiguos alphabetos Filipinos, Malabon, 1895.

either way relate to the question of the old script bring nothing new into its study since they are based on previously published material or they give only a general brief idea as to this script.[41]

III. Characteristics of the old Filipino script

Published in 1884 in the enclosure to the book of professor T. H. Pardo de Tavera (see above), a comparative table of Filipino alphabets (the Tagalog, the Ilocano, the Bisaya, the Pangasinan, the Pampango languages and the Ridel's alphabet) is very demonstrative and can be considered a good material for analysis.

The numerous works on the Philippine paleography and epigraphy, the history of the Philippine, and the Philippine philology and particularly the researches made by T. H. Pardo de Tavera, had proved the alliance of the main Philippine languages and existence of the single system of their script (graphics). Moreover, the greater extent of the Tagalog characters and availability of seven variants of the old Tagalog alphabet as well as common and similar signs of the Tagalog in all other Philippine alphabets, lead to a presupposition that all the alphabets of the Philippine Indonesian languages originated from the Tagalog or the common source, and that they constantly experienced the influence of old Tagalog. It is also clear from the fact that a number of duplicate signs of the old Tagalog script draws very near to the corresponding signs of the old alphabets of other Philippine languages. Therefore, brief characteristics of the old Tagalog characters give a full picture of the old writing system of each of the main Philippine languages.

The Old Tagalog script belongs to a phonemic syllable category. The vowels are lettered by individual graphic

41 *David P. Barrows*, History of the Philippines, N.Y., 1924, pp. 12-15; *C. Benitez, R. Tirona, L. Gatmaytan*, Philippine social life and progress, N.Y., 1937, pp. 87-98; *P. Reyes*, Pictorial History of the Philippines, Manila, 1953, pp. 10-15; *Balarilà ng Wikang Pambansá* súrian ng Wikang Pambansá, Ikaapat ng Pagkápalimbág, Kawanihan ng Pálimbagan, Maynilàs 1950 (in Tagalog language) etc.

Antiguos Alfabetos Filipinos

	Equivalencia	a	e, i	o, u	ka	ga	nga	ta	da	na	pa	ba	ma	ya	la	wa	sa	ha
Tagalog	Nº 1 Chirino																	
	. 2 Sn Agustin																	
	. 3 De Mas																	
	. 4 De Mas																	
Ilocano	. 5 De Mas																	
	. 6 Jacquet																	
Visaya	. 7 Ezguerra																	
	. 8 Mentrida																	
Pangasinan	. 9 De Mas																	
Pampango	. 10 De Mas																	
(?)	. 11 Riedel																	
	. 12 Riedel																	

1 2, 3, letras dadas por Thévenot diferentes de las de Chirino

Pardo de Tavera

signs (characters) only at the beginning of a word (initial vowel) and after other vowels in the middle or at the end of a word (e.g. *O* in *tao*). In the same cases when vowels follow consonants in the middle or at the end of a word they are lettered by a dot (tuldók) over (*e-i*) or under (*o-u*) sign which conveys a proper consonant in writing. Vowel "a" accompanying a consonant (inherent vowel) is not shown in writing, i.e. every sign designating a consonant is to be read in combination with vowel "*a*". A consonant without an accompanying vowel (isolated consonant) is lettered by a proper graphic sign with a cross (sabát) underneath this sign to its right.

Originally the old Tagalog alphabet consisted of 17 graphic signs, *three* out of which were used to letter vowels (a,e,—i, o—u) and 14 to letter consonants (k,g,z,t,d,n,p,b, m,y,l,w,s,h). The Consonant r is designated in writing by the same graphic sign that |d| is. Interchange |d—r| is characteristic for the modern Tagalog language too.

Reading of the old Tagalog characters of an early period was considerably hampered by the fact that five vowels were lettered by only three graphic signs. Therefore, interpretation of a number of words in either context wholly depended on the intellect or experience of the reader, who had to choose possible versions. Besides, as many paleographers state, the Tagalog writing was continuous, there were no punctuation marks in it, there was no difference between lower-case and capital graphic signs. It also should be added that signs *Pa ma sa* and *ta* could be written in several ways, but in cursive writing a number of similar (by configuration) signs looked absolutely alike (for instance, *a, pa, ma, ya*). Dots designating vowels in combination with consonants were often omitted in cursive writing. A cross designating isolated consonants was not always used. Therefore, as John Leyden says in his book, "it was much more difficult to read than to write".[42]

---

42 *John Leyden*, Translations of Malay Annals (with introd. by Sir Stamford Raffles), London, 1821.

Consequently the Tagalog script was improved gradually. There appeared independent signs *e* and *i*, *o* and *u*, *r* and *d*, most possibly it happened after the Spaniards had appeared in the Islands and with their direct participation. Vowels in combination with consonants in the middle and at the end of words were lettered in the following way: "*e*"—with a *dash* above a consonant "*i*"—with a *dot* above a consonant, "*u*"—with a *dash* below consonant, "*o*"—with a *dot* below a consonant. For the isolated consonants they used a *dot* (tuldók) before a sign (in the center) during that period.

Reading of the text was considerably facilitated when at first, sentences and then individual words became separated from each other by a vertical stroke. A little later there appeared spacings between the words.

It is also assumed that ancient natives of the Philippines used special characters (the old Filipino figures) to show numbers.

The old Filipino script is represented in all paleographic works in its manuscript version and reproduced lithographically in the historic and linguistic literature since the art of print reached the Philippine Archipelago about the time when this kind of characters was effectively ousted by a Latin script (end of 16th century—beginning of 17th century). Printed characters of the old Filipino alphabets have not been found.

The ancient Filipinos used bamboo plates and palm leaves (of *Barasus Flabifiliformis* and *Corypha umbraculifera*) dried up in a special manner, and later (about 10th century A.D.) imported Chinese paper. A steel cutter was a writing tool.[43]

The ancient Tagalog literature composed mostly of poetical writings, collections of ancient songs—lullaby songs (*hilina*), war songs (*dalaw*), drinking songs (*diona*), imita-

43 *Čestmir Loukotka*, Vývej Písma, Praha, 1946 (in chechian language); cited from the translation into Russian, Moscow, 1950, p. 210.

tions of Chinese poetry (quatrains) with seven line stanza (*tanaga*),[44] as well as humorous poems (await). Considering the views of a number of American and Philippine historians, J. Phelan affirmed that the Tagalog text of the first book printed in the Philippines (Doctrina Christiana, Manila 1593) was written by means of Latin graphics as well as in the old Tagalog script (lithographically).[45]

Fr. Colin, the Spanish Jesuit, a writer and a historian, Chirino's contemporary who lived for many years in the Philippines, and who wrote the history of the country, stated that the Filipinos widely used their characters. "They like their reading and writing so much that one can hardly find a man or a woman who wouldn't know how to read or write; they used them even in their religion even though they were Christians."[46] Possibly Fr. Colin slightly exaggerated the facts but it is known for certain that in the 17th century there still were books and prayer books copied by hand in the old Tagalog. This fact is confirmed in the books of Dr. Jose Rizal,[47] patriot and writer, immortal hero of the Philippines, the pride of the Malayan race who studied everything which related to the history of the Islands. These data make doubtful the conclusions of Phelan as regards the use of the old Filipino characters.

The history of disappearance of the old Filipino script has been now made clear.

Introduction of Latin graphics started in the first quarter of the 17th century and was the time when the conversion of the Filipinos as Catholics was completed. In 1622 there were about half a million Catholics,[48] i.e. approximately the whole population of the Islands of that time. The process of latinization of the Philippine writing was finalized in the first quarter of the 18th century. In 1745 S. Totanes who

---

44 Ibid, p. 215.

45 *J. L. Phelan*, The Hispanization, o.c., p. 18.

46 *Fr. Colin*, Labor evangélica. o.c.; cited from the Selected works of Dr. J. Rizal (the translation into Russian), Moscow, 1961, p. 148.

47 *Dr. Jose Rizal*, Selected works, o.c., pp. 147-149.

48 *J. L. Phelan*, The Hispanization, o.c., p. 54.

found the last traces of the old Tagalog writing wrote: " Characters of the language (the Old Tagalog script, i.e.—V.M.) are not used, because indios[49] are rare who can read and very rare who can write ".[50]

At present the question of the origin of the old Filipino script has not yet been finally clarified, though there are several well grounded assumptions and many hypotheses regarding the script. As it was pointed out here in the beginning we are on the side of the theory of the Dravidian origin of the old Filipino script. Having summarised the general features of the characters we will try to prove our presuppositions. The old Tagalog script is taken as a model of the old Filipino script, as it was done in the previous division.

IV. Dravidian features of the old Filipino script

Numerous theories and hypotheses on the origin and development of the old Filipino script can be classified by their ideological likness, in four main groups.

Suggestion of Non-Dravidian Origin

1. In the beginning of 18th century G. de San Agustin suggested the *Malayan* origin of the Old Tagalog script.[51] He considered it to have developed from a common Old Malayan alphabet, like all other Philippine written languages.

The noted orientalist J. Leyden, an expert in Malayan and Oceanic languages, noticed some time later the similarity of Batak and Old Tagalog script.[52] Pero Marsden thought the same earlier.[53] Stanely, Mallat and Favre, using San Agustin's materials, followed this theory also.

49 *Indio*—means *Filipino* (in abusive usage by Spaniards).

50 *S. de Totanes.* Arte de la lengua tagala, o.c., p. 80: " No se trata de los caracters de la lengua, porque es yà raro el Indio que los sabe leer, y rarissimo el que los sabe escribir ".

51 *G. de San Agustin,* Compendio, o.c., p. 118.

52 *J. Leyden,* Translations of Malay Annals, o.c.

53 *Pero Marsden.* History of Sumatra, London, 1811.

The old Tagalog script, like all other Philippine scripts, has a substantial similarity not only with Batak, but with Old Javanese (Kavi), Rejang and Lampong, and syllabic Balinese writing also.[54] But that likeness is not enough to allege that these scripts engendered one another. This indicated to only one source of their origin.[55] *Original Tagalog script has more similarity to Ancient Dravidian characters of Chera and Kadamba.* Some of the Malayan scripts, most probably, can be traced back to the Kadamba as well as through the Vengi script. If we presuppose even any old common system of writing in the Malayan cultural area, we must recognise the strong influences on these alphabets of other systems of writing. And these influences made them so different. Dr. Jose Rizal, well known Philippine scientist and great national hero, who explored this problem very carefully, expressed his opinion about the non-Malayan origin of the Old Tagalog alphabet.[56]

2. The verisimilitude of *Semitic* theory of the origin and development of the Old Tagalog script is more questionable. In 1818 Father Mentrida declared the "Hebrew or Chinese" origin of the Old Tagalog alphabet.[57] Dr. Antonio de Morga, the author of an interesting book "The Events in the Philippine Islands" (published in 1605 for the first time), expressed his opinion more definitely. He considered the Old Tagalog characters of Arabic origin and the direction of writing "from right to left." Dr. Morga supposed also that dots indicate the vowels in combination with consonants originated from the same Arabic signs.[58] Martinez de Zuñiga was of the same opinion.[59] No one of them, however, proved scientifically their suppositions. But

---

54 *Cf. E. Fry*, Pantographia containing accurate copies of all the known alphabets in the world, London, 1799, pp. 314-320.

55 *Cf. W. Humboldt*, Über die Kawi-sprache auf der Insel Java. Berlin, 1836-1839, Bd. 2, p. 78-87.

56 *Jose Rizal*, Selected works, o.c., p. 145.

57 *P. Méntrida*, Arte de la lengua Bisaya, o.c.

58 *Antonio de Morga*, Sacesos de las Iles Filipinas, ed. by J. Rizal, with introd. by F. Blumentritt, Paris, 1890, p. 290.

59 *Martinez de Zuñiga*, An historical view of the Philippine Islands, transl. by John Maver, London, 1814.

well-grounded works by Father Chirino, Father Ezguerra and especially by de Mas, who collected and made researches on several Philippine alphabets, had read some Old Tagalog and Old Ilocano texts, convinced of the direction of writing in the main Filipino languages of Malayan (Indonesian) stock as "from left to right." J. Leyden in his comparative analysis of Tagalog and Batak alphabets pointed to "left to right" horizontal writing and the rounded form of letters in both scripts. P. Marsden, who compared in his noted work the Old Tagalog and the Old Sumatran alphabets, reaffirmed this conclusion.

Morag's mistake can be explained, because the Moros[60] in the South of Philippine Islands used the pure Arabian script, even now. It was brought to the Philippines by the Muslim merchants from Indonesia in the 15th century.[61]

3. The *Chinese* theory of the origin of Old Tagalog script was not widespread. There were not special books and papers on this theme. But Dr. Pardo de Tavera mentioned it in his noted work. Even a superficial analysis points to the lack of hierogliphic features in the Old Tagalog script.

4. The *Indian* theory of the origin and development of the Old Filipino and the Old Tagalog alphabets is the most probable and is well-founded at the same time. For this, the three versions of Indian theory, which have all been based on the same initial source, should be distinguished from each other.

Prof. Pardo de Tavera in his noted book "Contribution to study of Old Filipino alphabets", published in 1884, had based for the first time the possibility of the origin of these alphabets from Brahmi, the most ancient form of the Indian scripts.

---

60 *Moro*—(from Spanish "Moor")—is common name of some Muslim tribes in the South of Philippines (Sulu, Magindanaw, Maranaw and oth.), given by the Spanish conquistadores.

61 *J. L. Phelan*, The Hispanization, o.c., pp. 16-17.

At the end of the last century the German sanskritologist Georg Büler, expert in Indian paleography, on the grounds of Kopp's investigations, proved scientifically the Phoenician origin of ancient alphabet Brahmi (Magadhi).[62] All Indian scripts of old and modern Indian languages (both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian) go back to Brahmi. Prof. C. Loukotka dates the appearance of this script as the B. C. first centuries.[63]

The Brahmi gave birth to Gupta (A. D. 300), Nagari (A.D. 600) and Devanagari (A. D. 1200) scripts in consecutive order. The Protobengal alphabet appeared some time earlier (circa A. D. 1100) according to Prof. C. Loukotka. Prof. T. H. Pardo de Tavera arranged the consonants of Old Philippine languages and their symbols for writing according to the order of the same in Brahmi and Devanagari :

ka	*ga*	*nga*		
ta	*da*	*na*		
pa	*ba*	*ma*		
ya	*la*	*wa*	*ha*	*sa*

T. H. Pardo de Tavera considered that old Tagalog characters *ta, pa, ba, ma, sa* had come from Brahmi directly and the form of Old Tagalog *ma* was also as it is in the Lampong alphabet (Sumatra Island), *ga* like the same in Gujarati script, *na* similar to the same Syllable in Makassar alphabet, *ya* to the same in Mandeling and Toba scripts. It is remarkable that Prof. Pardo de Tavera found a likeness of signs for *la* in Old Tagalog and Old Dravidian languages (Tamil and Telugu) for the first time.

Brahmi alphabet had an influence not only on Filipino scripts but also on writings of some other Indonesian (Malayan) languages. Nevertheless, Pardo de Tavera's analysis proved that " similarities of Filipino alphabets with the letters of Ashoka inscriptions more than with any other scripts in India and Oceania ".[64]

---

62 *Georg Büler*, Indishe paleographie, 1896.
63 *Č. Loukotka*, Vývoj Písma, o.c., p. 195-196.
64 *T. H. Pardo de Tavera*, Contribución, o.c., p. 18.

The Philippine Historian Isabelo de los Reyes Florentino analysed comparatively Bisayan, Old Javanese (Kavi), Toba and some other Malayan scripts and Brahmi. He had also made the conclusion that Brahmi alphabet had the most influence on Filipino scripts.[65]

The followers of Prof. Pardo de Tavera proceeded from Brahmi to Devanagari in comparative analysis of old alphabets of the Philippine archipelago. W. von Humboldt himself made this conclusion also in his well-known work about the main Indonesian languages.

Another version of the Indian theory is that of Prof. C. Loukotka, who insists on the primary influence of the Bengal alphabet in the Philippines. He writes that " Indian merchants and seafarers, especially from Bengal, who visited the Philippine Islands even in the first century B. C., left there the alphabet with the embryo of civilization[66] C. Loukotka considers also that the alphabets of some peoples of Java, Sumatra, Celebes and the Philippine Islands go back to the Assamese script.[67]

Assamese and Protobengal alphabets perhaps had influenced the development of some Filipino characters, but these influences couldn't be dominating. C. Loukotka himself recognized that the Assamese Alphabet reached the Malayan archipelago " very deformed ". It must be noted also that this alphabet had a syllable vowel *o*, vargas *cho* and *to*, aspirates and ligatures, but none of the Philippine languages have it. In the first century B. C. these Indian merchants couldn't carry any other script but Brahmi. Prof. C. Loukotka himself noted that Brahmi originated and was widely used in B. C. 300–100.

Wemyss Stanley in his book " The Languages of the World " presupposed the origin of Old Tagalog and Old Bisayan scripts from Sindhi and Multani.[68] But these alpha-

65 *I. de los Reyes Florentino*, Historia de Filipinas, 1890 (?).
66 *Č. Loukotka*, Vývoj Pisma, o.c., p. 214-215.
67 Ibid, p. 215.
68 *Wemyss Stanley*, The Languages of the World, Philadelphia, 1950, p. 206.

bets both originated from Nagari through Devanagari and Gujarati.[69] So this version is the variant of the Indo-Aryan theory. Some letters of the Old Filipino alphabets are similar to Sindhi and Multani (Lahndi), but this similarity is fortuitous. The system of vowels in combination with consonants and representation of separate vowels in these alphabets and in the Old Filipino alphabet are quite different.

David P. Barrows, the well-known historian of the Philippines, wrote that " the alphabets, which the Spaniards found in the islands, developed, of course, from that of the Indians in Java and adjacent regions ".[70] But he didn't distinguish between the Dravidians and the Aryans. It was Dravidians most likely. J. Shnitser in his " General Illustrated History of Characters " divided the Indian alphabets into two groups : Devanagari (with the derivatives) and alphabets of South India, Ceylon, Malayan archipelago, where, in his opinion, " Indian characters spread along with Buddhism ". He combined Pali, Singhalese, Siamese (Thai), Burman, Javanese (Kavi), Malayan and Telugu scripts in the second group.[71]

The Indo-Aryan theory of the origin and development of the Old Filipino script was prevalent originally. This can be explained very simply. The Indo-Aryan languages, Sanskrit particularly, were studied widely in the 19th century. The Dravidian languages were not subject of research especially in Europe. No one of the scholars who had investigated the Philippine languages and Filipino script knew even one of Dravidian languages. But Tamil is of the same antiquity as Sanskrit, and may be even more ancient.

The first man who came to know both Tamil and Tagalog presupposed the connection between the two alphabets. It was the Russian Prof. of Comparative and Slavic linguistics, Sergey Konstantinovich Bulich (1859-1921) who collected in Moscow the rich library on Dravidian languages. He studied

---

69 *Č. Loukotka,* o.c., pp. 194, 207-208.

70 *David P. Barrows,* History of the Philippines, New York, 1924, p. 13.

71 *Jacob B. Shnitser,* General Illustrated History of Characters (in Russian language), Sanct-Pitersburgh, 1909, pp. 164-165.

profoundly Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam, and wrote some papers on their grammar. His article "Tamil language" is most important.[72] S. K. Bulich knew also some of Malayo-Polynesian languages, Tagalog especially, and analysed them from the point of view of classical general linguistics. This made him conclude : "The alphabet used for the representation of Philippine languages (Tagalog esp.) is of Indian origin.... The iron stylus is the instrument by which it incised on bamboo or palm leaves. These characters are similar in form to D R A V I D I A N".[73]

Prof. S. K. Bulich was the first author of the *Dravidian* theory of the origin and development of Old Filipino and Old Tagalog scripts. This theory must be recognised now as the most probable of all.

DRAVIDIAN INFLUENCES

As for the analysis of Philippine languages all based on Tagalog, the most typical one, for proving the Dravidian origin of Filipino scripts we must base on Tamil, "the most Dravidian" of all Dravidian languages, as it is sometimes said in India.

The *modern Tamil script* developed in the A. D. 500–700 from the younger form of early South-Indian Brahmi alphabet, Grantha ("New Grantha"), which can be traced back to ancient Brahmi through the characters of Chera (A. D.500–600), Kadamba (A. D. 400–500), Pallava (A. D. 300) and Kistna (A. D. 200). Tamils used Grantha, Chera and Kadamba scripts in different periods of their history. Some of the Tamil inscriptions were also used in the Vengi script (A. D. 400–600) and Chalukya (A. D. 400–900).[74] Graphic signs of Vattaḷuttu, alphabet of Persian-Arameyan origin, was used for the most Tamil inscriptions. Tamils used probably Brahmi characters in the B. C. 200–100.

72 *S. K. Bulich,* Tamil language(in Russian language), Encyclopedical dictionary by F. A. Brokhaus and I. A. Efron, Sanct-Pitersburg, 1901, V. 64.

73 *S. K. Bulich,* The Philippine or Tagalog group of Malayan languages (in Russian language), Encyclopedical dictionary by F. A. Brokhaus and I. A. Efron, Sanct-Pitersburgh, 1903, V. 71, pp. 751-752.

74 *C. Loukotka,* Vývij Písma, o.c., pp. 228-230.

The alphabets of all other Dravidian languages had appeared still later and under the influences of Tamil. Because of that, even modern alphabets of Dravidian languages have many similar graphic signs. Some of them are common to all the main Dravidian alphabets. Tamil and Malayalam scripts are the closest. Thus, the Dravidian influences on Old Filipino scripts was of Tamil for the most part and went through all the alphabets of Kadamba, Chera and Grantha originating from Brahmi, which were all used by Tamils.

The tracing back to Brahmi of Old Filipino alphabets, like the Dravidian, is no longer disputable. It was proved by T. H. Pardo de Tavera. It must be indicated by the similarity of *a, i, ka, ga, na, ma and sa* in Filipino and Kadamba alphabets. Chera characters influenced on *i, ka, ta, da, ba, ya, sa* and in some parts on *a, u, ga, na* and *pa* of the Filipino alphabets in the A. D. 500–600 era.

It is extremely significant that Filipino graphic signs for vowels were influenced by Dravidian and not by any other. Brahmi, Chera and Old Tamil alphabets had no signs for long vowels, with the exception of a. Graphic signs for longs vowels appeared in Dravidian languages after the A. D. 900–1000. Therefore it had no signs for long vowels in Filipino alphabets. This fact accords with the opinion of the more authoritative historians of Southeast Asia that Dravidian influences in Southeast Asia ended in the A. D. 900.

It must be noted also that in the early documents of Old Tagalog and Old Tamil there were no two different graphic signs for |u| and |o|, but one only.

The Tamil alphabet influence is very noticeable in the number of graphic signs in Old Tagalog (seventeen only). It can be explained that Tamil (in contrast to other Dravidian languages) has no signs for Non-Dravidian phonemes (aspirates and sibilants) and ligatures. That is why varga in Tamil is shortened and simplified. For this in Tagalog there are no vargas *cha* and *ta*.

The mode of comprehension of isolated consonants in Old Tagalog and Tamil scripts is alike. They can be indicated in Tamil with the help of a dot (புள்ளி) above. In Tagalog a cross was used in the beginning and afterwards the dot also. There is another mode for comprehension of isolated consonants in other Dravidian languages. Old Tagalog and Old Tamil scripts did not have intervals between words, phrases and sentences, punctuation marks and capital letters. Dots for isolated consonants were not used compulsorily in both languages in the early period.

It must be noted that Old Javanese (Kavi) system of writing had some common features with Devanagari signs for aspirates and sibilants, ligatures, special marks used in the function of "virama", "anuswara", "visarga" and "anunasika", but form of their letters is near to Dravidian characters. Kavi letters have marks of Pallava, Kadamba and Grantha influences. The modern Javanese letters named Charakan differs from Kavi script. Charakan have no signs for aspirates.

One of the indirect proofs of the ancient relations between Tamils and Filipinos is the name of Manila City in Tamil language (மணிலா) which occurred before then in many other non-Indian geographical names. The name of Manila or ground-nut is found in Tamil also from very old time —(மணிலாப் பயறு) and (மணிலாக் கொட்டை) also the Manila thamarind (Pithecolobium dulce)—(கொடுக்காப்புளி).[75]

The Tamil language is the most ancient and the most developed language of the Dravidian stock. The Tamil literary tradition is much older than that of Sanskrit, it already existed in the B. C. 200.[76] The Tamil language has retained in the purest form the genuine ancient Dravidian stems and grammatical forms, phonetics, lexics, syntactical constructions and characters. A. Hovelacque said :

75 A Dictionary Tamil and English, based on J. Ph. Fabricius's "Malabar-English dictionary", 2-nd ed., rev. and enlarg., Tranquebar, 1910.

76 P. S. *Subrahmanya Sastri*, Comparative grammar of Tamil language, Tiruvadi, 1947, p. I.

"According to lexical richness and purity and antiquity of its forms the Tamil language is of the same role in its family of languages as the Sanskrit in the family to which it belongs".

W. von Humboldt emphasised also the fact that the Tagalog language plays the same part in its family of languages.[77]

In the main cognate Dravidian languages literatures came into existence much later: Cannada—7th century, Telugu—10th-11th century. The Malayalam language up to the 14th century was one of the dialects of the Tamil language. Thus the Dravidian influence on the ancient Filipino scripts was obviously of Tamil origin. This conclusion is based not only on the similarity of a number of characters, which is sometimes considerable (compare the letters of the ancient Filipino scripts and Chera), but primarily on the fact that the Filipino scripts had been influenced (to some extent) by all the varieties of the South Indian (Dravidian Kadamba script used by the Tamil language. The ancient Filipino script has main specific features of the Tamil script and being such it is closer to it more than to other Dravidian script, not to mention about any other script.

At the same time one can't agree with the opinion of Mr. Piros Cutar who considers that on the basis of similarity of the Tamil and ancient Filipino characters, the Philippine languages and dialects can be referred to as the languages of the Dravidian family.[78] The comparison of morphological structure and syntactical peculiarities and of the most commonly spoken lexics yield no grounds for such a conclusion. At present we may only prove the facts of influence on the part of Dravidian script and lexics. The Philippine languages are typical Malayo-Polinesian languages.

77 A. *Hovelacque*, La linguistique (Histori naturelle du language), Quatrieme ed., Paris, 1887, p. III.

W. Humboldt, Über die Kawi-sprahe auf der Insel Java, Berlin, 1836-39, Bd. II, p. 214-215.

78 Cf. "Hindu" (Madras), Oct. 1954.

In the remote past the Philippine languages are likely *to have had quite different grammatical structure* which was probably close to the structure of the Dravidian languages. The solution of this problem is left over for the future. Meanwhile facts which would enable us to draw such conclusions are not available.

V. The historical basis of Dravidian influence

Our knowledge of the ancient history of the Philippine Islands is rather scanty. However it is now precisely established that the first human being appeared on the islands more than 250,000 years ago. This view is supported by the established facts from the history of neighbouring Indonesia, the historians of which refer the first appearance of the primitive man in their country approximately to the same age.

The aborigines of the Philippines, the Negrito tribe of pygmy Aetas who belong to the Negro-Australoid race, inhabit the islands up to now. They have retained their customs and habits to a great extent. They are closely related to the Semang tribe of the Malayan Peninsula. They bear resemblance to the aborigines of the Andaman Islands.[79] Their origin is obscure.

Some historians state (for example Filipino Pedrito Reyes) [80] that six waves of migration passed through the Philippine Archipelago from the Asian continent B. C. The first wave is attributed to the second millenium B. C. The last one is approximately referred to 200 B. C. They were the Malayans and Dravidians, primarily the Tamil from Malaya and the adjacent territories and from Indonesia and Southern India as well. Joseph E. Spencer points out that the chieftains of the tribes from Borneo (Calmantan) seized by force the lands of Aetas and settled in the Philippines.[81] Having driven the Aeta and other aborigines inside the islands off to the mountainous inaccessible regions, they took possession

79 *D. P. Barrows*, History of the Philippines, o.c., pp. 9-11.
80 *Pedrito Reyes*, Pictorial History of the Philippines, Manila, 1953, p. 8.
81 *J. E. Spencer*, Land and People in the Philippines, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1954, p. 140.

of the areas most advantageous from geographical and economic point of view. The Negritos partly mixed with Malayans, and Dravidians. The mixture obviously took place between Malayans and Dravidians. A very high culture was brought to the Philippines (then called Maji). The remnants of this culture were found in the 20-s of our century during the excavations in the valley of the Indus river (the ruins of Mohendjo-Daro discovered by R. L. Bannerji, a whole complex of the Harappa archeological Culture). Numerous objects found in the Philippines which belong to the " Stone Age " are similar to the archeological findings in Southern India dated as the same period (the fourth millenium B. C.). Prof. Beyer while excavating on the islands in 1926–30 discovered many pieces of iron mongery, utensils, glass beads etc., manufactured in Tamil Nad. In 1820 on one of the Philippine Islands a bronze sculpture of the god Shiva was found brought there by merchants from Southern India.[82]

The Dravidians already in the third millenium B. C. formed the main part of the population of India. According to historical annals, late in the second millenium B. C., the Dravidians were partly assimilated, were partly driven to the South by the Āryans who came from the North. Another part of the Dravidians created in the South large slave owner states—kingdoms of Chera, Chola, Pandhya and Andhra. Some of them had to leave India and move to the Islands of the Indian Ocean and to other areas and countries. Apparently, during this very period there was a rise of the Dravidian and especially of Tamil influence. It is related to the fact that from the end of the first millenium B. C. up to the VII century A. D. the Philippines were religiously and culturally dominated by Buddhism.

---

82 *S. J. Gunasegaram*, Early Tamil Cultural Influence, o.c., pp. 4, 16.

83 It is necessary to note that it wasn't Bengals but Dravidians (mostly Tamils), contrary to the opinion of Prof. Loukotka, who in the process of migration settled in all the islands of South East Asia long B.C. This transmigration went on in Medieval Ages and nowadays. That is why there are about 5 million Tamils and other Dravidians beyond the boundaries of India: Ceylon, South Africa, Malaya, Burma, Vietnam, Indonesia, Phillippines, Fiji, St. Maurikius, Reyunyon, Madagascar, etc.

In view of all that, Rev. Fr. Thani Nayagam without any doubts, has the right to say "Andhra and Tamil Nad have contributed to the cause of the propagation of Indian culture more than any other part of India." [84]

That is why D. G. E. Hall, British historian, and George Coedès as well, believe that the Protomalayans long before the arrival of the Indians had created a civilization of their own the main characteristics of which are as follows: [85] in the field of production—the cultivation of rice on the sewage-farms, taming of bulls and carabaos, primitive usage of metals, development of navigation (boats with outriggers); in the social field—matriarchy, the social organization adapted *to the irrigational agriculture; in the field of religion*—animism, cult of ancestors and of the god of fecundity, jar and dolmen burials, cosmic dualism in mythology. That is what the culture of the ancestors of the Malayans and Indonesians of the present day looked like.

Most of the features mentioned were also characteristic of the Dravidians. Thus some of the Dravidians almost up to now retain some of the survivals of matriarchy.[86]

That is the reason why D. G. E. Hall emphasizes the fact that G. Coedès, one of the most reliable authorities in this field, on the basis of all evidence available to him, draws the conclusion that "the most important role in the exportation of Indian culture belongs to Southern India." [87]

It is necessary to take into account that the Dravidian influence went on during many centuries and intermingled with non-Dravidian influence (especially with that of Malaya and China, which was particularly strong from the beginning of the 10-th century).

But the Malayan immigrants very often bore marks of the Tamil cultural influence.

---

84 *Xavier S. Thani Nayagam*, Tamil Cultural Influences, *o.c.*, *p.* 204.
85 *D. G. E. Hall*, History of South-East Asia, o.c., p 25 *G. Coedès*, Les Etáts hindóuisés. o.c., p. 24-25.
86 *E. Thurston*, Castes and tribes of Southern India, Madras, 1909.
87 *D. G. E. Hall*, o.c., p. 35.

According to R. Heine-Geldern, "The invasions of Sumatra by a king of Chola in the eleventh century, the Tamil inscription of Luba Tua from the year A.D. 1088 and the Dravidian tribal names still to be found among the Batak are also not to be forgotten." (*The Archeology and art of Sumatra*, o.c., p. 330).

Each new wave of migration found in the Philippines that the ethnical composition of the population had changed to some extent, when compared with the previous wave. A complicated and very long process of cultural and historical development was going on in the Philippine Archipelago. Races and cultures mixed up, and this found its whimsical and multiform expression in the diversity of nationalities of the islands, the 25 million population of which speaks almost 80 languages and dialects.

In the process of long historical development, several thousand of the Filipino-Negritos and the first Malayans mixed with the early settlers, and then with the later newcomers. The waves of migration which lasted almost one thousand years, and sporadic migrations and invasions of the Philippines which took place later, could not help influencing the culture, literature, languages and script of the Filipinos. During the period of conception and at the early stages of the development of the ancient Filipino script (5—7 centuries) the Dravidian influence, the earliest on the archipelago, was dominant.[88]

The date of the beginning of the ancient Filipino scripts does not fully agree with the date calculated by us of an approximate divergence of various Indonesian Malayan, languages and their split from the Original Austronesian language.[89] The beginning of the divergence between Taga-

---

88 *S. J. Gunasegaram,* Early Tamil Cultural Influence, o.c., Foreword, p. III.

89 The calculation was made on the base of the *Mauricio Swadesh's* method—cf. his Lexico-statistic dating of prehistoric ethnic contacts. "Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society", vol. 96, 1952, pp. 453-464; cf. also *R. Fox, W. Sibley and F. Eddan*—A preliminary glottochronology for Northern Luzon, "Proceedings of the Eight Pacific Science Congress", Manila, n.d.

log and Indonesian is referred most likely to the 3—5 centuries A.D. The main Philippine languages split away approximately in the 6—12 centuries. Thus Tagalog and Bisayan apparently diverged in the 11—12 centuries. There are much less affinities between Tagalog and Indonesian, than between Tagalog and other Philippine languages cognate to it. It is possible to explain this fact through the influence of Tagalog upon other languages of the Phlippine Islands. But all that does not alter the question about the Dravidian influence on the ancient Filipino script. In the middle of the last century J. Logan stated that in the past there used to be one big Himalayo-Polynesian family of languages which had been greatly influenced by some ancient Dravidian languages.[90]

G. Coedès wrote that the Indian writers often tried to emphasise the role of their native provinces in the spreading of Indian cultural influence. " The Tamils connected the colonization of the " Greater India " with the name of Madras, Bengals—with the name of Bengal." However the Tamils have sound reasons to do so. Coedès himself spoke, as it was already noted above, in favour of the Dravidian influence as the chief influence. He has proved that all the inscriptions without any exception found in South-East Asia have originated from South India, and that South Indian script (Pallava) was widely used there. Coedès points out that the usage during a *short period of time* the end of the 8-th century and the beginning of the 9-th century—of the Pre-Nagari script indicates the penetration in South East Asia of the Bengal " wave " of influence.[91]

That was the decline of the Tamil influence in the Philippines and the ancient Filipino scripts was already well developed. That is why Prof. Loukotka's opinion as to the Bengal origin of the ancient Filipino scripts, seems to be wrong. It is in no way supported either by historical data, or by comparison of characters and analysis of the script.

90 *Dj. Logan*, Ethnology of the Indo-Pacific Islands, " Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia ", v. 4, 1859, pp. 65-98.
91 *G. Coedès*, Etáts hindouisés, o.c., p. 35.

Thus the Dravidian, mostly Tamil, script has exercised the major influence upon the process of origins and development of the ancient Filipino scripts. The results of a comparative analysis of it and of the Old Dravidian scripts are irrefutable evidence in favor of this view. Indirect support comes from various archaeological and historical data e.g. comparative-historical research briefly exposed above.

The great variety of cognate Philippine languages and dialects and the existence of several kinds of script closely related to each other corroborate the "wave" theory of the peopling of the Archipelago, and indicate the fact of non-Dravidian influence, primarily in the later periods of the Philippine history. But the Dravidian influence was the earliest, relatively prolonged and dominant. It was spread not only by the Dravidians themselves but also by the Malayans, who in the beginning of christian era were influenced by the Dravidians and Aryans. Between A.D. 700—1200, the Malayan influence became the main and most dominant. The ethnic composition of the Philippine Arhipelago had changed a lot during that period. For this reason the Spaniards, who had conquered the islands in the 16-th century, found there typical Malayans. The Old Filipino scripts didn't change so radically, because the majority of the Malayans at that time used the same characters, which originated from Brahmi via Kadamba.

Subsequent development of our knowledge of the early period in Philippine history will help, beyond all questions, in corroborating the facts of Dravidian influences in the Philippine Archipelago. Most of these influences, at present, are for the most part hypothetical.

Colloquial Tamil As System

KAMIL ZVELEBIL

1. In Archiv Orientální 31-1-1963, pp. 109-118, I published a short paper dealing with the finite verb-forms in Colloquial Tamil. In this paper, in the paradigms of finite verb forms, a few different forms were given promiscuously as possible individual, i.e. idiolectic variants of the 3 p.sg. aḫriṇai (cf. p. 114 of the paper). Thus, e.g., čeyṟaṭu and čeyyuṭu were given as two alloforms of the same form, 3 p. sg. aḫr. pres. tense.[1])

2. On further and more careful investigation of more extensive material I found, however, that there was an important functional and distributional difference between these two forms. This difference between forms in Colloquial Tamil may also throw light on the relation of verbal and participial nouns to finite verb-forms in Literary Tamil, and, above all, serve as an illustration of "*systemzwang*" in lingual development.

3. In terms of distribution and tagmemic theory, the colloquial Tamil forms with present-tense morpheme in a fuller shape fill usually the Subject, Object and Modifier slots, whereas forms without the tense-morpheme or with a reduced shape of it fill the Predicate slot. Cf. / ni : varraṭu nallaṭu[2], lit. "you-sg. coming (is) a good thing", tagmemic formula of this utterance is +S : Vnphr + P : pron adj (*read* obligatory Subject slot filled by a verb-noun phrase plus obli-

---

[1] This was certainly a mistake on my part, but it may be a consolation that it was a shared mistake. The late Prof. R. P. Sethu Pillai, e.g., gives the forms *irukkutu* but *pōṛatu* and *ōḍuṛatu* as colloquial forms of the finite verb, quoting, at the same time, forms like *kōkkutu* and *nikkutu*. Cf. His Tamil-Literary and Colloquial, p. 30. In Note 17, he gives the forms *ōḍutu* etc., but regards here the *t* as a "changed" present tense suffix *r*. In short, he does not distinguish between finite forms and verbal and participial nouns in colloquial Tamil as far as their phonemic shape is concerned. This mistake is conditioned objectively: the colloquial language is only now striving after norm and standardization, a consequent system is just emerging; sometimes it is difficult to see clearly its shapes.

[2] The colloquial Tamil forms are given in phonemic script.

gatory Predicate slot filled by prominalized adjective) with /o:n na:yi varuṭu "your-sg. dog is coming", formula ±S: Nphr+P: v fin (*read* optional Subject slot filled by a noun phrase plus obligatory Predicate slot filled by a finite verb-form). The forms / varraṭu / and / varuṭu / are to be segmented as follows:

var - r - aṭu, i.e. stem + pres. tense suffix + pers. suffix;
var - / - uṭu, i.e. stem + personal suffix.

In Literary Tamil, the two forms in both utterance would be "identical", or rather h o m o p h o n o u s, cf. *nī varukiratu nallatu* with *un nāy varukiṟatu.*

4. In other words, the forms with present-tense morpheme preserved in a fuller shape are verbal and participial nouns, whereas forms with the present tense suffix in reduced or zero-shape are finite verb-forms of 3 p. sg. aḥriṇai. So it is in Colloquial Tamil. In Literary Tamil, these forms are homophonous: *varukiṟatu* is (1) 3 p. sg. aḥr. pres. tense "it-comes", (2) present verb noun, "coming", (3) aḥriṇai participial noun of pres. tense, "that which is coming". The d i s t r i b u t i o n and the f u n c t i o n of this form is d i f f e r e n t, but its phonemic s h a p e is the same in Literary Tamil. Historically, it seems that the aḥriṇai participial noun function is the most ancient one (**varukinṟa -atu, *vanta-atu*, cf. Ceylonese finite forms like vanṭani, you-sg. came < *vanta nī).[8] This historical consideration and the CT situation seem to indicate that *varukiṟatu* is not *one* form, but rather t h r e e h o m o p h o n o u s forms.

5. In Colloquial Tamil, the difference in function and distribution is matched by the d i f f e r e n c e i n f o r m. We have, on the one hand, finite verb-forms without the tense-morpheme or with one particular reduced shape (allomorph) of the tense-morpheme, on the other hand, verbal and participial nouns w i t h the tense-morpheme in its ful-

---

[8] From my material for Jaffna and Colombo Tamil, gathered in 1962. The whole utterance is recorded as / ṭampi: ni: eppo koḻumpile:yrnṭu vanṭanı / "Dear boy, when did you come from Colombo?"

ler shape.[4] Thus we have, in Coll. Tamil, the pairs/varruṭu/ "it comes", to be segmented/var – uṭu/and/varruṭu/" coming" or "that which comes",/var-r-aṭu,/ceyyuṭu/" it does", S + ps, versus/ceyraṭu/" doing", "that which does", S + ts + ps,/iruk-kuṭu/∾/irukku/" it is", S + ts_1 + ps versus/irukkraṭu/" being", "that which is", S + ts_2 + ps.

6. To quote a few examples of utterances with the two forms:[5]

finite forms	*verbal and partic. nouns*
1. /aṭu enne čeyyuṭu/" What is it doing?"	/enne čeyraṭu/" What to do?"
2. /ma:ṭu varuṭu / " Bulls are coming!"	/eṅke varraṭu /" Where to come?"
3. /aṭu eṅke po:uṭu/" Where does it go?"[6]	/eṅke po:raṭu/"Where to go?"
/aṭu vayalukku po:uṭu/ " It goes to the field"	/aṅke o:ṭippo:raṭenne/" What is that which is running there?"
4. /aṭu pa:ṭuṭu/" It is singing"	aven pa:ṭraṭe sakikkye muṭiya:ṭu/" It is impossible to bear his singing"
5. /aven vi:ṭu eṅke irukku/ " Where is his house?"	ni: iṅke irukkaraṭu nallaṭu/ " Your being here is good"
/ko:ylu eṅke irukkuṭu/ " Where is the temple?"	
6. /aṭu paṭikkuṭu/" it is reading"	/ava paṭikkraṭu čariyalla/ " Her reading is not correct"

[4] Probably the frequency of usage of these infinite verb-forms being lower, the tense-suffix has been rather preserved than much weakened or lost as in the finite forms with higher frequency.

[5] The instances are taken from my field-notes and from M. Shanmugam Pillai, Spoken Tamil.

[6] Contra is an instance from my field-notes, uttered by a Tamil Vaishnava Brahmin:/inṭa reyilvanṭi maṭureykku po:ruṭu/. But this only

In instances 1–4, we have finite forms without the present-tense suffix/čeyyuṭu, varuṭu, po:uṭu, pa:ṭuṭu/and the suff. of 3 p. sg. aḫṟ. has the shape/-uṭu/. The contrastive verbal and participial nouns has the tense-suffix, and the final suffix has the shape/-aṭu/:/čeyraṭu, varraṭu, po:raṭu, pa:ṭraṭu/.

In instances 5 and 6, we have (with verbs of other, so-called "strong" class), finite forms with the reduced present tense-suffix/-kk-/, cf./irukku/ ~ /irukkuṭu/,/paṭikkuṭu/and the suff. of 3 p. sg. aḫṟ. has two allomorphs/-u/and/-uṭu/. The contrastive forms—verbal and participial nouns—have the fuller shape of the present tense-suffix,/-kkr-/, and the final suffix has the form/-aṭu/.

7. The fact that there is, in Colloquial Tamil, as against Literary Tamil, a *difference in form* here, not only in distribution and meaning, shows how the colloquial language, which is just being shaped and more and more used, strives after a well-balanced *system* where difference in distribution and function would be matched by difference in forms. In this respect, then, spoken Tamil, the lively language of the masses of millions of Tamilians, seems to be on a higher stage of evolution than its Literary counterpart and ancestor.

---

shows that there is a difference between sub-standard social and local dialects of the colloquial speech and a type of Coll. Tamil which tensd to be standardized, a difference which even R. P. Sethu Pillai obviously over-looked when quoting the form *pōṟaṭu* as the coll. form of 3. p. sg. aḫṟ. / finite verb. In the type of colloquial speech I call standardized, the form is/po:uṭu/ or /po:kuṭu/, as rightly given by M. Shanmugam; /po:raṭu/is verbal or participial noun; /po:ruṭu / is a sub-standard, dialectal form.

A Preliminary Report on the Survey of Progress in Tamilology

S. SINGARAVELU

[This preliminary draft is published to indicate the lines along which Research information may be sent for incorporation in the Five Year Report on Tamil Research. (see International Association of Tamil Research.—Ed.)]

This is a preliminary report on the survey of progress in Tamilology, begun five months ago by the Department of Indian Studies at the University of Malaya.

Circular letters and questionnaires were addressed to Tamilologists the world over. Although *not* all replies have yet been received, it is felt that this preliminary report based on the answers so far received would be of some use to the Tamilologists who will be meeting in Madras, Annamalainagar, and Madurai at the three sessions of the First Tamilologists' Conference to be held in January 1964.*

Needless to say, this report has its own limitations. First, a preliminary report like this, cannot claim to be exhaustive since the replies to the questionnaires are still coming in. Furthermore, a comprehensive survey of progress in Tamilology will have to include at least some particulars about the contents of research works, but such a thing is not possible at this stage, as most of the works are either in an advanced stage of preparation or merely awaiting publication. Therefore this preliminary survey can only be regarded as a "census" rather than a complete survey of works in Tamilology.

---

* For more information on progress in Tamilology, please see the report on DRAVIDIC STUDIES by Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaran of Annamalai University, in the *ORIENTAL STUDIES IN INDIA*, published on the occasion of the 26th International Congress of orientalists in New Delhi (Jan. 1964).

The questionnaire which was sent out as part of the survey, classified research work in Tamilology under nine heads, and therefore this report might as well deal with the works in their order.

I. Editorial Work

The Editorial work in Tamilology which has recently been either completed or in progress may be classified into two main categories, namely, (1) Editing and publication of new texts from manuscript collection, and also summaries of existing texts; (2) Indexing and publication of already existing work of Tamil literature, grammar, and history.

To the first category belong the following works: (*a*) KAYATRAM, edited by the late Professor of Tamil, S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, under the auspices of the Department of Tamil, University of Madras; (*b*) COMPLETE WORKS OF KARAIKKAL AMMAIYAR together with LEGENDE DES-JEUX DE CIVA A MADURAI, compiled by the Institut Français D'Indologie of Pondicherry, which is affiliated to Ecole Française de'Extreme Orient and sponsored by the French Government; (*c*) The Institute is also at present compiling SUMMARIES OF STALAPURANAMS (MADURAI, KANCI) with illustrations taken from statues, bas-reliefs in temples: (*d*) SUMMARIES OF THE HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS IN THE MACKENZIE COLLECTION with a critical introduction and assessment of their historical value, compiled by Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, Professor of Ancient History and Archaeology at the University of Madras.

To the second category of Indexing and publication of existing works, belong the following: (*a*) A COMPLETE CARD INDEX OF EVERY WORD IN EVERY OCCURENCE IN THE FULL RANGE OF TAMIL SANGAM LITERATURE (300,000 CARDS), completed by the Institut Français D'Indologie of Pondichery; (*b*) INDEX OF PURANANURU, and TOLKAPPIAM URAIKKOVAI VOL. I, compiled by Dr. V. I. Subramaniam, Head of the Department of Tamil and Linguistics at the University of Kerala;

(*c*) Dr. V. I. Subramaniam and his fellow research workers are now engaged in the compilation of INDICES OF OTHER SANGAM WORKS; (*d*) ANNOTATED INDEX OF AIN-KURUNURU AND A CRITICAL STUDY THEREON, a thesis by R. Sadasivam for the M.Litt Degree of the Madras University in 1961.

II. Expository, Critical, or Interpretative works including Comparative Studies:

The following works belong to this category: (*a*) NATURE POETRY IN TAMIL: The Classical period, a thesis partly revised for the M.Litt Degree of the Annamalai University by Rev. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, Professor of Indian Studies at the University of Malaya (1963); (*b*) TREATMENT OF NATURE IN SANGAM LITERATURE, a thesis for the Ph.D. Degree of the University of Madras by Prof. M. Varadarajan, Head of the Department of Tamil at the University of Madras (1948); (*c*) OVAC-CEYTI (ஓவச் செய்தி), a critical appreciation of a poem in Ahananuru by Prof. M. Varadarajan (1952); (*d*) SANGA ILAKKIYATTIL AHATTINAI (சங்க இலக்கியத்தில் அகத்திணை) a thesis for Ph. D. Degree of the Madras University by V. SP. Manickam (1956); (*e*) POETIC IMPORTANCE OF THE NAMES OF ITS VERSES IN A STUDY OF PATIRRUPATTU, a thesis for M.Litt Degree of Madras University by A. Maheswari Ammal (1959); (*f*) CRITICAL STUDY OF PURANANURU, a thesis for M.Litt Degree of the Madras University by N. Sanjeevi (1962); (*g*) STUDIES IN PATTUPATTU, a thesis for M.Litt Degreo of the Madras University by K. Arumugam (1959); (*h*) HOME LIFE AMONG THE TAMILS IN THE SANGAM AGE, by K. Gnanambal (1943); (*i*) THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE TAMILS IN THE CLASSICAL PERIOD, a thesis for M.Litt Degree of the Madras University by R. Shanmugam (1962); (*j*) A CRITICAL STUDY OF KURUNTOGAI, a thesis for M.Litt Degree of the Madras University by Balasubramanian (1963); (*k*) CRITICAL COMMENTARY ON TIRUKKURAL (திருவள்ளுவர் அல்லது வாழ்க்கை விளக்கம்)

by Prof. M. Varadarajan of Madras University (1952); (*l*) STUDIES IN MANIMEKALAI, a thesis for M.Litt Degree of the Madras University by N. Baluchami (1960); (*m*) COMPARATIVE STUDY OF KAMBA RAMAYANAM AND TULASI RAMAYAN, a thesis for Ph.D. Degree of the Madras University by S. Shankar Raj Naidu (1959); (*n*) KAMBAN'S TREATMENT OF TIRUKKURAL, a thesis for M.Litt Degree of the Madras University by T. S. Kamala (1959); (*o*) RAMAYANA IN SCULPTURE AND ICONOGRAPHY IN THE TAMIL COUNTRY, a thesis for M.Litt Degree of Madras University by C. A. Hema (1961); (*p*) BHARATAN IN KAMBA RAMAYANAM, a thesis for M.Litt Degree of the Madras University by R. Kumaravelu (1963); (*q*) A STUDY OF THE MINOR CHARACTERS IN KAMBA RAMAYANAM, a thesis for M.Litt Degree of the Madras University by A. R. Indira (1963); (*r*) THE GREAT EPIC OF THE TAMILS by Dr. M. Arokiasami; (*s*) A STUDY OF LITERATURE OF TONDAIMANDALAM, a thesis for M.Litt Degree of the Madras University by Balasubramanian; (*t*) A CRITICAL STUDY OF ST. GNANA SAMBANDAR'S TEVARAM, a thesis for M.Litt. Degree of the Madras University by I. Rajalakshmi (1963); (*u*) THE ANALYSIS OF LEGENDS FROM THE LOCAL PURANAMS (TIRUVILAYADARPURANAM AND KANCHI PURANAM) with relevant iconographical and archaeological material, by the Institut Français D'Indologie; (*v*) KULOTTUNGAN PILLAI-T-TAMIL, a thesis for M.Litt Degree of the Madras University by V. R. Mahalingam (1956); (*w*) CRITICAL STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF ARTS AND SCIENCES IN ANCIENT TAMIL country, a thesis for M.Litt Degree of the Madras University by SP. Annamalai (1961).

Besides the above-mentioned works that have been completed, expository, critical, or interpretative research is now underway in the following fields of study: (*a*) Rev. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, Professor of Indian Studies at the University of Malaya, is working on two books, namely, CHARACTERISTICS OF TAMIL POETRY IN DIFFERENT

CENTURIES, and TAMIL CULTURE (HISTORICALLY OUTLINED); (*b*) THE TINAI CLASSIFICATION IN TAMIL LITERATURE by Prof. M. Varadarajan of the Madras University; (*c*) A STUDY OF PALAI-TIÑAI IN SANGAM LITERATURE and (*d*) A STUDY OF MARUTA-TINAI IN TAMIL LITERATURE, by research students at the University of Madras; (*e*) THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN TAMIL SOCIETY; a thesis for M.A. Degree by Mrs. D. Nadarajah; (*f*) SOCIETY IN SANGAM AGE, a thesis for M.A. Degree by S. Singaravelu at the Department of Indian Studies, University of Malaya; (*g*) EDUCATION AND LEARNING IN SOUTH INDIA, 400–1300 A.D., a thesis for the M.Litt Degree of the University of Madras, by S. Gurumurthi; (*h*) EDUCATION IN THE ANCIENT TAMIL COUNTRIES, a thesis (in progress) for Ph.D. Degree of London University, by K. P. Ratnam of Ceylon, presently with the Department of Indian Studies at the University of Malaya; (*i*) TAMIL EDUCATION IN MALAYA, a thesis for M.A. Degree, by S. M. Ponniah; (*j*) A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF TIRU. V. KALYANASUNDARAM'S WORKS, a thesis for M.A. Degree, by E. SA. Visswanathan at the Department of Indian Studies, University of Malaya.

Work is also being carried out in the field of TAMIL SOCIAL NOVELS of the Mid-Twentieth Century by H. Leo at the Department of Indian Studies, University of Malaya, while another student at the Madras University is now working on A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL NOVELS IN TAMIL.

III. Works pertaining to Religion, Philosophy, Art, Archaeology

The following works in the field of *Religion* have been completed: (*a*) RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY OF TEVARAM WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NAMBI ARURAR (SUNDARAR), a thesis in two parts for Ph. D. Degree of the Madras University by M. A. Durai Rangaswamy (1959) (recently published); (*b*) HISTORICAL STUDY OF THEVARAM HYMNS, a thesis for M. Litt Degree of the Madras

University by A. M. Paramasivanandam; (*c*) DEVELOPMENT OF SAIVISM IN SOUTH INDIA UNDER THE PALLAVAS OF KANCI AND THE IMPERIAL CHOLAS (A.D. 300-13000), a thesis for Ph. D. Degree of the Madras University by Dr. M. Rajamanickam (1950); (*d*) SUBRAMANYA—A STUDY, by T. V. Mahalingam, Professor of Ancient History and Archaeology at the University of Madras; (*e*) TIRUKKALUKKUNRAM AND ITS TEMPLES, a thesis for M. Litt Degree of the Madras University, by K. V. Gopala Krishnan (1961); (*f*) JAINISM IN SOUTH INDIA, a thesis for M. Litt Degree of the Madras University by R. Champakalakshmi (1958).

The following works on religion are under way: (*a*) HISTORY OF SRI VAISHNAVISM IN SOUTH INDIA IN THE POST-RAMANUJA PERIOD, by Jagadesan at the University of Madras; (*b*) MYSTICISM IN SAIVA TIRUMURAIS, by a research student at the University of Madras; (*c*) TIRUVORRIYUR TEMPLE, by G. Krishnamoorthy, Lecturer in Archaeology at the University of Madras; (*d*) LOKAPALAS IN INDIAN RELIGION AND ART, for the Degree of M. Litt by B. Sitaram; (*e*) ANIMALS AND BIRDS IN INDIAN RELIGION AND ART, for the M. Litt Degree of the Madras University by G. Ramamurthi; (*f*) A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TIRUARUTPA AND TIRUVACAKAM, a thesis for M.A. Degree, by V. Jayadevi at the Department of Indian Studies of University of Malaya; (*g*) A MONOGRAPH ON INDIAN FESTIVALS IN MALAYSIA, by Dr. S. Arasaratnam of the Department of Indian Studies at the University of Malaya.

PHILOSOPHY

(*a*) The Institut Français D'Indologie has completed the COLLECTION AND PUBLICATION OF SANSKRIT WORKS FROM TAMILNAD (SIVAGAMAS); (*b*) THE LOKAYATA MATERIALISM, THE HINDU SYSTEM OF SAIVA-BHAKTI AND OTHER PHILOSOPHICAL AND RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS AS FOUND IN MEDIAEVAL TAMIL SOURCES, by A. M. Pjatigorskij (In Russian), 1962.

ART

(a) The Institut Français D'Indologie has completed the COLLECTION OF ICONOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL (38,000 pictures) chiefly in Tamilnad.

(b) SOME ICONOGRAPHIC CONCEPTS AS GLEANED FROM LITERATURE, EPIGRAPHY AND SCULPTURES IN THE TAMIL COUNTRY (500–1000 A.D.) a thesis by R. Champakalakshmi, at the University of Madras (in progress).

ARCHAEOLOGY

(a) ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF PALAEOGRAPHY IN SOUTH INDIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TAMIL COUNTRY, by Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, Professor of Ancient History and Archaeology at the University of Madras. (IN PRINT)

(b) MEGALITHIC CULTURE IN INDIA, by B. K. Gururaja Rao, Lecturer in Archaeology, University of Madras.

(c) ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE CHINGLEPUT DISTRICT, by A. Swamy for Ph. D. Degree of the Madras University.

FOLKLORE

FOLKLORE OF THE TAMIL PEOPLE, a thesis for M. Litt Degree of the Kerala University, by K. P. S. Hameed (1961).

IV. Grammatical Linguistic

The following works have been completed: (a) WORDS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE by the late Professor of Tamil at the Madras University, Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai; (b) DRAVIDIAN COGNATES (2000 words) by the Madras University with the collaboration of Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai; (c) A COLLECTION OF ESSAYS ON SOME LINGUISTIC PECULIARITIES IN TAMIL (மொழியியற் கட்டுரைகள்)

by Dr. M. Varadarajan, Professor of Tamil at the University of Madras (1956); (*d*) ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF VERBS IN TAMIL, a thesis for M.O.L. Degree of the Madras University (1944) by Dr. M. Varadarajan; (*e*) STRUCTURE OF THE NOUNS IN KALIRRUYANAINIRAI OF AGANANURU, a thesis for M. Litt Degree of the Madras University by R. Srinivasan (1961); (*f*) LINGUISTIC STUDY OF ANDAL'S WORKS, a thesis for M. Litt by T. Murugarathanam (1963); (*g*) VERBAL ROOTS IN TAMIL WITH APPENDIX, a study by V. Rajam; (*h*) SEMANTIC STUDY OF SANGAM VOCABULARY, by P.S. Indira; (*i*) STUDY OF INDEX OF WORDS IN TOLKAPPIAM AND INDEX VERBORUM OF TOLKAPPIAM, a thesis for M. Litt Degree of the Madras Udiversity, by R. Seethabai (1960); (*j*) TAMIL LINGUISTIC VARIATIONS IN THE KINTA DISTRICT OF PERAK, MALAYA, by Rama Subbiah for the Master of Arts Degree at the University of Malaya (1963); (*k*) THE TAMIL VERBS, a thesis by V. SP. Manickam for M.O.L. Degree of Madras University (1948); (*l*) TAMIL SOUNDS, a thesis for M.O.L. Degree by Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram; (*m*) MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE CLASSICAL TAMIL LANGUAGE, a summary of the thesis by YU.YA. Glazon for the Degree of philology of the Moscow Academy of Sciences (1962).

The following works are in progress: GRAMMAR OF PURANANURU, GRAMMAR OF KAMBA RAMAYANAM WITH INDEX, GRAMMAR OF PERIYAPURANAM with index, and GRAMMAR OF TIRUKKURAL, by Dr. V. I. Subramanian, Head of tha Department of Tamil at the University of Kerala; (b) A PHILOLOGICAL, MORPHOLOGICAL, AND SEMANTIC STUDY OF JAFFNA DIALECT OF TAMIL, by Sabaratnasinghe Thananyayarajasingham of the Department of Tamil, at the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya; (c) A STUDY OF MORPHOLOGY OF THE EARLY TAMIL, and (d) THE TREATMENT OF MORPHOLOGY in TOLKKAPIAM, by research students of the Madras Uuiversity; (e) Dr. R. E. Asher of the London School of Oriental and African Studies, is working on the

phonology and grammar of spoken Tamil, and he is also preparing a translation with commentary of Ziegenbalg's GRAMMATICA DAMULICA; (f) PROBLEMS OF TAMIL MORPHOLOGY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO DECLENSION, by Semyon Ghesselevich Rudin of the Faculty of oriental Studies, University of Leningrad.

Among the Tamilologists who are now engaged in grammatical and linguistic work, Dr. Kamil Zvelebil of Charles University of Prague is one of the most active workers. His present research work in this field is as follows:

(1) *HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF TAMIL:* This broadly based and fundamental work is prepared by a team of Soviet Tamilologists, GLAZOV, ANDRONOV, PJATIGOSKIJ, and the team is working under the leadership of Dr. Zvelebil. The Editor of the Historical grammar of Tamil will be Dr. Zvelebil himself. The grammar should be finished definitely by 1967. It is based on an analysis of 50 texts chosen as typical samples for every important period of the development of Tamil. The texts are epigraphic and literary. The first Prolegomena Volume will be published early 1964 in Moscow in Russian and English. The final work will be simultaneously published in Prague and in Moscow in English and Russian.

(2) *TAMIL DIALECTOLOGY.* Apart from research papers on Tamil local and social dialects published in Archiv Orientalni, Transactions of the Linguistic Circle of Delhi, Indo-Iranian Journal and elsewhere, Dr. Kamil Zvelebil is preparing a major monograph entitled *TAMIL IN SYNCHRONY AND DIACHRONY*, which will treat with the Tamil language, its external and interal history, and with all its types—vertical and horizontal dialects—common colloquial and literary language and their interrelations in synchrony and diachrony. This work will probably be ready by 1969-70.

(3) STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF TAMIL, another work of Dr. Zvelebil proceeds steadily and finds expression in research papers published in Archiv Orientalni; the first

of the series, "How to handle the structure of Tamil", has appeared already. The results of this structural analysis of the Tamil language, begun in 1954-55 (cf. The enclitic vowels in Tamil, Emphasis and Intensification in Tamil etc.) will also form part of an *INTRODUCTION TO LINGUISTICS* prepared by a team of Oriental linguists under the leadership of Dr. L. Zgusta in Prague.

(4) *DRAVIDIAN MOVEMENT*: In this work, Dr. Zvelebil wants to trace and analyse the cultura-political, cultural, linguistic and literary aspects of the Dravidian Movement (திராவிட இயக்கம்) in the South of India.

V. Historical work relating to LANGUAGE/LITERATURE INSCRIPTIONS, and also historical work in other fields e.g. POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY.

LANGUAGE

(*a*) HISTORY OF TAMIL LANGUAGE (மொழி வரலாறு) by Dr. M. Varadarajan, Professor of Tamil at the University of Madras (1954); (*b*) STUDIES OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE 7th CENTURY UP TO THE MIDDLE OF THE 11th CENTURY A.D., a thesis for M. Litt by V. Jayakumari, University of Madras (1959); (*c*) ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE TAIL LANGUAGE, a thesis for M. O. L. Degree of the University of Madras by S. Ilakkuvan (1946); (*d*) HISTORY OF TAMIL SYNTAX, a thesis for Ph. D. degree, by P. Arunachalam at the Department of Indian Studies, University of Malaya (in progress); (*e*) Tamil Syntax —Rama Subbiah, for Ph. D. degree of the London School of Oriental and African Studies.

LITERATURE

(*a*) HISTORY OF LITERARY CRITICISM IN TAMIL (ILAKKIA MARABU, இலக்கிய மரபு) by Dr. M. Varadarajan, Professor of Tamil at the University of Madras; (*b*) HISTORY OF LITERARY THEORIES IN TAMIL, (in progress) by Dr. M. Varadarajan; (*c*) NARRIANAI IN HISTORICAL, SETTING, by Dr. K. K. Pillay; (*d*) CLASSICAL AGE OF

THE TAMILS, and KURUNTOGAI IN ITS HISTORICAL SETTING, by Dr. M. Arokiaswamy; (*e*) INDEX OF HISTORICAL MATERIAL IN EARLY TAMIL LITERATURE (in progress) by Dr. N. Subramanian of the University of Madras; (*f*) AGANANURU IN ITS HISTORICAL SETTING, by C. E. Ramachandran, as a thesis for M. Litt Degree; (*g*) CRITICAL STUDY OF SEKKILAR AND HIS HISTORICAL MATERIAL, a thesis for M. O. L. Degree by Dr. M. Rajamanickam (1945).

POLITICAL HISTORY

(*a*) THE SANGAM POLITY, (in print) by Dr. N. Subramanian of the Madras University; (*b*) EARLY CHERA KINGS, a thesis for M. O. L. Degree by A. M. Satokopa Ramanujacharya, at the Madras University (1935); (*c*) HISTORICAL PLACES OF ANCIENT TAMILAGAM UP TO 10th CENTURY A.D., a thesis for M. Litt Degree by Alagia Chokalingam, at the Madras University, (1959); (*d*) MADURAI THROUGH THE AGES, a thesis for Ph. D. Degree of the Madras University by D. Devakumari (1957); (*e*) KANCHIPURAM IN EARLY SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY (awaiting publication), and (*f*) SOUTH INDIAN POLITY, and (*g*) Administration and social life under VIJAYANAGAR AND ECONOMIC LIFE IN THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE, by Dr. T. V. Mahalingam of the University of Madras; (*h*) A STUDY OF TAMIL DOCUMENTS OF THE DUTCH PERIOD IN CEYLON, (in progress) by Sabaratnesinghe Thananyayarajasingham of the Department of Tamil, University of Ceylon; (*i*) HISTORY OF TAMILS IN CEYLON (in progress) by Dr. S. Arasaratnam, Lecturer at the Department of Indian Studies, University of Malaya; (*j*) LAND TENURE SYSTEM UNDER THE CHOLAS, by Noboru Karashima of the Department of Oriental History at the University of Tokyo (in progress)

SOCIAL HISTORY

(*a*) SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE TAMILS (in progress) by Dr. K. K. Pillay, Professor of Indian History at the University of Madras.

VI. Bibliographical Work

(*a*) Bibliography of Tamil Studies, containing entries on various branches of Tamilology, compiled and edited by Rev. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, Professor of Indian Studies at the University of Malaya (1963). This work is now in print and published by the University of Malaya Press. The scheduled date of its publication is June 1964.

(*b*) Bibliography of articles in periodicals and journals on Tamilology—this work has been again undertaken by Prof. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam at the University of Malaya. Circular letters have already been sent to scholars all over the world for collaboration in this project.

(*c*) Bibliography of Indian Culture in South East Asia, for 1964/65, by the Department of Indian Studies, University of Malaya.

(*d*) BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TIRUKKURAL, including interpretative works and translations, is being compiled by K. P. Ratnam presently with the Department of Indian Studies, University of Malaya.

VII. Sociological Work

(*a*) CULTURE OF TAMILS AS REVEALED BY PERIYAPURANAM (in progress), a thesis by K. Nambi Arooran, a research student of the Department of History, University of Madras.

(*b*) The staff and students of the Department of Indian Studies at the University of Malaya, are carrying out A CULTURAL STUDY OF A LOCAL COMMUNITY OF TAMIL ORIGIN, KNOWN AS MALACCA CHITTIES, who are the descendants of the 15th/16th century Tamil settlers and who are still following many of the Tamil customs, despite their intermarriage with the indigenous Malays and the immigrant Chinese.

VIII. Lexicographical Work Including Dictionaries of Language/Literature and encyclopaedias

(*a*) STUDY OF VOCABULARY OF SILAPPADIKARAM, a thesis for M. Litt Degree of the Madras University by S. Kanagasoundari (1958);

(*b*) SURNAMES OF SANGAM AGE, a thesis for M.O.L. Degree of the University of Madras by Durai Rangaswamy (1947);

(*c*) RUSSIAN-TAMIL DICTIONARY of about 25,000 words, by Dr. Andronov, the State Publishing House, U.S.S.R. (nearing completion)

(*d*) TAMIL-RUSSIAN DICTIONARY by A. M. Pjatigorskij and S. G. Rudin, Moscow, (1960)

(*e*) DICTIONARY OF DRAVIDIAN COGNATES (in progress) by Dr. M. Varadarajan, Professor of Tamil at the Madras University.

IX. Translation Work

(*a*) Translation of EN SARITHRAM (என் சரித்திரம்) of Dr. U. V. Saminatha Ayer, into English by Rev. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, Professor of Indian Studies, University of Malaya. (in progress)

(*b*) Preparation of editions with French translations and commentaries on TIRUPPAVAI (திருப்பாவை) Tirumurugarruppadai (திருமுருகாற்றுப்படை) and studies in Tiruvaimoli (திருவாய்மொழி) and Tiruvacakam (திருவாசகம்) by the Institut Français D'Indologie, Pondicherry.

(*c*) Tirukural Translation in Russian, by Y./Yuri/Glazov and A. Krishnamoorthi, Editor-in-chief, K. Zvelebil; Oriental Literature Publishing House, Moscow, (1963).

(*d*) SUBRAMANYA BARADHI POEMS (in Russian) Translated from Tamil. Selection/Compilation/Foreword and Notes by I. Smirnova, The State Publishing House, Moscow (1963).

(*e*) A Russian translation of Alai Osai (அலை ஓசை) of KALKI, now being prepared for the press, by the State Publishing House, U.S.S.R.

(*f*) TIRUVAIMOLI—Translation and commentary by B. R. Purusothama Naidu of the Madras University.

(*g*) THE STORY ABOUT THE ENCHANTED JACKALS. Ancient Tamil Legends. Russian translation; foreword and notes by A. M. Pjatigorskij, Oriental Literature Publishing House, Moscow (1963).

(*h*) Translation of KARI-T-TUNDU (கரித்துண்டு) of Dr. M. Varadarajan, into English by S. Singaravelu of the Department of Indian Studies, University of Malaya. (in progress)

Dr. Kamil Zvelebil of Charles University, Prague has translated a number of Tamil works into Czech. They include:

(*a*) *Paramartha* Guruvin kathai (பரமார்த்த குருவின் கதை) Czech version, "*Zertovne Pribehy Mistra Paramarthy*" (1954).

(*b*) *Cerney kvet.* an anthology of ancient Tamil erotic poetry (1955)

(*c*) *Kvety jasminu*, an anthology of the Agam and Puram poetry of the Sangam epoch, 200 stanzas (1957)

(*d*) *Nectar v situ*, Czech version of Kamala Markandeyas' Nectar in a sieve (1259)

(*e*) *Mlceni pod Madurou*, Czech version of "Panjum pasiyum" by S. Raghunathan (1957)

The following works of translation by Dr. Zvelebil are now in print:

(*a*) Cilappatikaram in Czech "*Pisen o klenotu*" by Ilangovatikal;

(*b*) *Pritelkyne z detstvi*, Czech version of Mohammad Basheer's "Balyakalasakhi (1964);

The following Czech translations by Dr. Zvelebil are now under way:

(a) *Kari-t-tundu* of Dr. M. Varadarajan;
(b) *Ahal Vilakku* of Dr. M. Varadarajan;
(c) *Sivakamiyin Sabatham* of Kalki.

Apart from these books of translations, Dr. Zvelebil has included some translations of modern Tamil short stories in the following books in Czech.

(a) *Zbavitel Dusan,* Pohadka O Pisni (1953)
(b) Ruppelt, Dusan, Indicke novely (1953)

X. Organisational Work

Dr. Kamil Zvelebil of Charles University, Prague, Czechoslovakia the first Professor of Tamil at the Department of Asian and African studies, Faculty of Philosophy, has organised the course of Tamil studies at Charles University, Prague, as follows:

First Year:	Introduction to Study
	Descriptive Grammar of Literary Tamil
	Outline of Indian History
	Practical Course of Tamil/Literary language
Second Year:	History of Tamil Literature
	Seminar/Linguistic
	Descriptive grammar
	Practical course/Literary language
	Tamil Conversation/Literary style
Third Year:	Historical Grammar of Tamil
	Reading of texts/modern prose and poetry
	Seminar/Literary
	Practical course/Spoken Tamil/Sanskrit
Fourth Year:	History of South India
	Reading of texts/Medieval and Ancient
	Seminar/Historical
	Practical course/Spoken Tamil
	Sanskrit
	Comparative Dravidian
Fifth Year:	Practical course/Literature and Spoken Tamil.

The students of Tamil in Prague have just finished their third year of study. One of them wants to specialize in philology and linguistics; the other in more recent and modern history of South India; the third, a girl-student, in Tamil literature. Most of the students have been able to work independently: one of them is now dealing with the problem of compounds in Tamil; the other with the social and political background of Subramanya Bharathi's writings.

They have also chosen the themes of their dissertations. One of Dr. Zvelebil's students will submit as his dissertation a thorough linguistic analysis and description of Sivagangai Charitram and Ammanai. The other has chosen, as his theme, the historical analysis of Kattabomman's uprising against the British, and its literary reflections in the ballads. The third will probably deal with Tamil journalism and modern literary developments.

Besides these courses, Dr. Zvelebil is also planning to give lectures which would deal with subjects like Saiva Siddhanta, Predravidian and Protodravidian in India and Dravidian-Aryan synthesis etc.

INDIAN STUDIES DEPARTMENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA

The Department of Indian Studies at the University of Malaya offers four courses for students entering the University. Course A which is mostly a Tamil medium course can lead to either a Specialist Degree with Indian Studies as one subject over a period of three years, or to a non-Specialist degree with Indian Studies as one of two subjects. This course includes reading of Tamil literature, original writing in Tamil, social and literary history, culture and civilization of Tamils.

Courses B, C, and D (which are English medium courses except B which is only partly so), designed for students of non-Tamil origin, mainly Malays and Chinese, can lead to non-Specialist Degree with Indian Studies as one of two

subjects. These courses are designed to form an introduction to Indian culture and thought, and include the study of Indian history, philosophy, religion, art, literature (through English translation), and cultural elements common to South East Asia and India. The response for these courses from students of non-Tamil origin, mainly Malays and Chinese, is encouraging from the fact that more than a hundred students enrolled for these courses in the Academic year 1963/64. Students entering for these courses learn Tamil and / or Sanskrit.

All these courses are planned for the Malayan situation. Therefore the background of Malayan needs, of the plural society, and of the confluence of Malay and Chinese cultures, are taken into consideration in the planning of courses and in actual teaching.

The scope of this Department, with culture contacts possible in the University and outside, is one of interpretation: (a) To interpret Tamil literature, culture, and thought through both Tamil and English media, and when possible in the Malay and Chinese media (b) To provide for Malay, Chinese, and English translations of the Tamil classics of various periods.

Acknowledgements

This report could not have been compiled without the initiative of Prof. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, Head of the Department of Indian Studies at the University of Malaya, and the interest and aid of Tamilologists from different parts of the world. Sincere appreciation is extended to all those who have been generous with information and particulars. Grateful acknowledgement of especial indebtedness is made to the following: Dr. M. Varadarajan, Professor of Tamil at the University of Madras, Dr. K. K. Pillay, Professor of Indian History at the University of Madras, Dr. Kamil Zvelebil of Charles University, Prague, Czechoslovakia, Professor Jean Filliozat of Institut Français D'Indologie, Pondichery, Dr. T. V. Mahalingam, Professor of Ancient

History and Archaeology at the University of Madras, Dr. V. I. Subramaniam, Head of the Department of Tamil, University of Kerala, Dr. R. E. Asher of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, Mr. Sabaratnasinghe Thananjayarajasingham of the Department of Tamil at the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, Mr. C. Krishnamurthy, Mr. B. K. Gururaja Rao, and Srimati R. Champakalakshmi of the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology at the University of Madras, Mr. Noboru Karashima of the Department of Oriental History at the Tokyo University, and Mr. S. G. Rudin of the Faculty of oriental Studies at the University of Leningrad, U. S. S. R.

News and Notes

STUDY OF DRAVIDIAN

Professor Thomas Burrow, Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford University was one of the delegates to the 26th International Congress held in New Delhi in January, 1964. Professor Burrow is now spending a month in Orissa doing field work in the Pengu language. This language belongs to the Dravidian group of languages, and its study will add to the number of uncultivated number of Dravidian languages about which studies have been made.

The Professor also said that Prof. Emeneau and he were revising the Etymological Dictionary of the Dravidian Languages, and he hoped the revised edition would be published in two or three years' time.

DRAVIDIANS IN CENTRAL ASIA

Two years ago Alexander Marushchenko, Soviet archaeologist, found a woman's skull in an ancient burial mound in Southern Turkmenia. He thought it strange that the skull showed obvious Dravidic features; in our time Dravidians live only in Southern India.

At the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the skull was reconstructed by the method developed by Professor Mikhail Gerasimov. And the bust thus made was cast in tinted gypsum to show what this woman from Southern Turkmenia looked like when she was alive.

Now it has been established beyond any doubt that about 6,000 years ago the Dravidians who inhabited all the territory of Hindustan at that time crossed the Himalayas and settled down in Central Asia.

What was the fate of the settlers afterwards?

Examining the skulls found in the burial mounds on the territory of the right-bank of the Khoresm, Tatyana Trofimova, M.Sc. (Biology), the chief of the Anthropology Department of the Institute, has come to the conclusion that in about 2,000 years after the settlement, the descendants of the Dravidians mixed with other races to produce the Ethnographic type of the Khoresm oasis.

Soviet Land, No. 19, October 1963.

AFGHAN DIALECT AKIN TO TAMIL

The Leader of the Afghan Parliamentary Delegation, Dr. Abdul Zaheer, who along with the other members visited the Osmania University Oriental Publication Bureau on Saturday, disclosed that there was a region in Afghanistan, where the people spoke a dialect known as "Barzui", which was akin to Tamil. This was attributed to the supposed existence of Dravidians in Central Asia.

The delegation was received by Mr. B. P. R. Vittal, who took the members round a rich collection of manuscripts in Arabic and Sanskrit in the University Library and the Oriental Publication Bureau.

Mr. M. Yaziani, Librarian, and Dr. Abdul Moid Khan, Director of the Bureau, explained the significance of the collections. They also visited the Osmania University Arts College.

—The Hindu, 31-12-63.

WORLD ORGANISATION FOR TAMIL RESEARCH

Tamil-knowing delegates to the 26th International Congress of Orientalists, at a meeting to-day, decided to set up an international organisation for Tamil research. Mr. T. P. Meenakshisundaram Pillai, Mr. V. I. Subramaniam and

Rev. X. S. Thani Nayagam of Malaya and other Tamil delegates from England, the Continent and the United States attended the meeting.

In a paper on Tamil lexicography in the 17th and 18th centuries, Rev. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam (Malaya), investigated the special features introduced by Henriquez, S.J., (1520–1600), Rev. Ignacio Bruno (1576–1659), and their contribution to the study of literary and colloquial Tamil.

Prof. D. P. Ghosh (India) said in a paper that Indian still had the capacity for cultural influence on South-East Asia as in ancient times.

ROLE OF TAMIL RULERS

The Tamil scholar Mr. Subbu Reddiar who is the head of the department of Tamil in the Venkateswara University, said the Tamil poets of the classical age had referred to the geographical entity of India as the land between the Kumari and the Himalayas and between the eastern and western seas. He pointed out that a study of classical literature would reveal that the people of Tamil Nad shared religious beliefs, values, customs and practices along with the rest of India, and cherished the same spiritual goals with their brethren in other parts of the country. He also mentioned that Tamil rulers often dreamed of bringing the whole country under one umbrella.

There was not much of a discussion on the paper but at least two delegates Mr. H. Berger and Mr. A. C. Chettiar intervened to point out that mere allusions to episodes in the Mahabharatha was not sufficient evidence to draw the conclusions reached by the author of the paper.

—From the Hindu, Madras, 8th Jan. 1964.

THE JOURNAL OF PHILOSOPHY

FOUNDED BY FREDERICK J. E. WOODBRIDGE AND WENDELL T. BUSH

EDITORS :
John H. Randall, Jr., Robert D. Cumming, George L. Kline, and Sidney Morgenbesser (book-review editor).

CONSULTING EDITORS : Herbert W. Schneider, Alexandre Koyre, and Jose Ferrater Mora.

MANAGING EDITOR : Leigh S. Cauman.

Communications to the editors should be addressed to the Managing Editor, 720 Philosophy Hall, Columbia University, New York 27, N.Y. Subscriptions and advertisements should be sent to THE JOURNAL OF PHILOSOPHY, 720 Philosophy Hall, Columbia University, New York 27, N.Y. The annual subscription price (26 numbers) is $6.50 ; to students, $5.25. The price of single numbers is $0.50 ; double numbers, $1.00 ; complete volumes, $12.00.

THE JOURNAL OF PHILOSOPHY is owned by the Journal of Philosophy, Inc., and published bi-weekly at Prince and Lemon Sts., Lancaster, Pa. Editorial Office : 720 Philosophy Hall, Columbia University, New York 27, N.Y. President, Albert G. Redpath ; Vice President, John H. Randall, Jr. ; Treasurer, Frederick A. Dewey ; Secretary, Corliss Lamont.

Second-class postage paid at Lancaster, Pa.

Philosophy East and West

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL AND COMPARATIVE THOUGHT

A quarterly devoted to the mutual enrichment of the world's diverse philosophical traditions, with emphasis on the comparative aspects of the philosophies of Asia and the West. Its purpose is twofold: the development of a total perspective within philosophy itself, and the search for a philosophical basis for greater mutual understanding between the peoples of Asia and the West. An international Board of Editors represents the major philosophical areas of the world. In its twelfth year of publication.

One year: $4.00; two years, $7.50; three years, $10.00

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII PRESS, HONOLULU 14, HAWAII

ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE

(Continued from inside front cover)

OTHER MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNING COUNCIL

Mr. P. Alalasundaran Chettiar
" C. Amritaganesan
" Anbu Ganapathy
" S. Arumuga Mudaliar
" R. Balakrishnan
Rev. P. Ceyrac, S.J.
Mr. S. Chellaswamy
Dr. A. Chidambaranatha Chettiar
" V. A. Devasenapathi
Mr. M. M. Ghani
" W. Jayaraman
" S. Maharaja Pillai
" O. RM. M. SP. SV. M. Meyappa Chettiar
" C. A. Mohamed Ibrahim
" A. M. M. Murugappa Chettiar
Dr. B. Natarajan, M.L.A.
" K. K. Pillai
Mr. A. Palaniswamy
" V. P. Raman
" L. P. K. R. Ramanathan Chettiar
" S. Ramaswami Konar
" V. Shanmugasundaram
" T. K. Shanmugam
" A. Subbiah
" V. Subbiah Pillai
" P. M. Sundaram
" V. Sundaramurthi Mudaliar
" V. S. Thyagaraja Mudaliar
" P. Thirugnanasambandam

TAMIL CULTURE

Subscriptions, advertisements, and remittances should be addressed to: The Hony. Treasurer, *Tamil Culture*, 13/11, Jeremiah Road, Madras-7.

Subscriptions are best remitted in the form of crossed Postal orders or cheques or Bank drafts ***payable in India*** drawn in favour of *Tamil Culture*. Cheques not drawn on a Bank in Madras should include the Bank's collecting commission of 50 naye paise. V. P. P. charges are extra.

Subscriptions and remittances may also be remitted to:

CEYLON: Individual subscribers may send P.O.s or M.O.s or Unesco Book coupons cashable in Madras.

MALAYA: Ensign Book Depot, 54, Pudu Road, Kuala Lumpur, Malaya.

Rates of Subscription (effective from 1963):

	India, Ceylon, Burma	Malaya	U. K.	U. S. A. & other countries
Annual	**Rs. 10**	**M $ 10/-**	**Sh. 15**	**U. S. $ 2·50** or its equivalent
Single Copy	**Rs. 3**	**M $ 3/-**	**Sh. 6**	**U. S. $ 0·75**

As back numbers are usually sold out, we are unable to guarantee supply of back numbers to subscribers who send their subscriptions for any year after one or more issues for that year are published. In such cases we can supply only subsequent issues of the year at single copy rates. Subscribers are therefore requested to send their subscription, new or renewals, to reach us by 31st January.

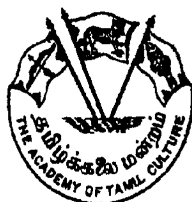
Literary communications, Exchange, and Books for review should be addressed to the Chief Editor, *Tamil Culture* 13/11 Jeremiah Road, Vepery, Madras-7.

To secure their return, if not accepted, the Mss. offered for publication should be accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope. The Editor does not take any responsibility for Mss. that may be lost. Mss. should be typewritten and sent in duplicate to facilitate printing.

The expression of individual views by contributors or reviewers does not imply editorial endorsement.

Published by Mr. C. Amritaganesan for Academy of Tamil Culture, Madras-7 and Printed at
St. Joseph's Industrial School Press, Tiruchirappalli-1

Vol. XI, No. 2.



APR.—JUN. 1964

TAMIL CULTURE

JOURNAL OF THE ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE

CONTENTS

All Rights Reserved

TAMIL CULTURE

EDITORIAL BOARD:

Chief Editor:

REV. DR. XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM,
University of Malaya.

Joint Editor:

MR. A. SUBBIAH, Madras.

Asst. Editor:

MR. S. SINGARAVELU,
University of Malaya.

Members:

MR. C. AMRITAGANESAN, Madras.
MR. R. BALAKRISHNAN, District Educational Officer (Retired), Madras.
REV. P. CEYRAC, S.J., Loyola College, Madras.
DR. A. C. CHETTIAR, University of Madras.
MR. M. M. GHANI, Director, Regional Institute of English, Bangalore.
DR. K. K. PILLAI, University of Madras.
DR. V. I. SUBRAMANIAM, University of Kerala, Trivandrum.
MR. P. THIRUGNANASAMBANDAM, Presidency College, Madras.
MAHA VIDWAN M. V. VENUGOPALA PILLAI, Madras.

(The office-bearers of the Academy are ex-officio members of the Editorial Board)

ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE

OFFICE-BEARERS FOR 1963–64

President:

DR. M. VARADARAJAN

Vice-Presidents:

PROF. T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM
REV. DR. XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM
DR. KAMIL ZVELEBIL
MR. KARUMUTTU THIAGARAJAN CHETTIAR
RAO SAHIB N. MURUGESA MUDALIAR

Hony. Secretaries:

PROF. A. M. PARAMASIVANANDAM
DR. S. SHANKAR RAJU

Hony. Treasurers:

MR. S. M. PALANIAPPA CHETTIAR
MR. V. SUBBIAH PILLAI

(See inside page of back cover for names of other members of the Governing Council)

Vol. XI, No. 2 APR.—JUN. 1964

TAMIL CULTURE

JOURNAL OF THE ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE

CONTENTS

All Rights Reserved

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Rev. Dr. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam is Professor of Indian Studies, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.

Dr. Edgar C. Knowlton, Jr., is Associate Professor of European Languages, University of Hawaii, and Visiting Professor of Linguistics at the University of Malaya.

Dr. S. Vithiananthan is Lecturer in Tamil, University of Ceylon, Peradeniya.

Mr. S. Thananjayarajasingham is Lecturer in Tamil, University of Ceylon, Peradeniya.

Antao De Proenca's Tamil-Portuguese Dictionary, 1679

An Introduction

XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM

01. The first Tamil dictionary to be printed, in all likelihood, is the Tamil-Portuguese dictionary, compiled by the Jesuit Antao de Proenca who died in the Ramnad District of Southern India in the year 1666 at the comparatively early age of 42. He was born at Ramella in Portugal in 1625, entered the Society in 1643, and went to the Madura Mission in 1647. Earlier missionaries speak of Tamil-Portuguese dictionaries which they had compiled and hoped to see in print, but as far as evidence goes, none of those earlier dictionaries seems to have been printed.

02. Henrique Henriquez, S.J., (1520–1600) in his letter dated 27th January, 1552 speaks of a Tamil-Portuguese dictionary compiled by him which he hoped to augment later.* Though copies of three of his works have now been traced, no trace has been found of his dictionary, nor do later writers make any reference to any printed dictionary of his as they do to his other printed works, the *Doctrina Christam*, and the *Flos Sanctorum*. Though his manuscript grammar was traced in the National Library in Lisbon, his Mss. vocabulary has not been found.† The title page of Proenca's dictionary reads:

> VOCABVLARIO | TAMVLICO | COM A SIGNIFICACAM PORTVGVEZA. | COMPOSTO PELLO P. ANTAM DE PROENCA | DA COMPANHIA DE IESV | MISSIONARIO DA MISSAM DE MADVREY | Com todas as licencas necessarias da santa Inquizicao | E dos Superiores | Na imprensa Tamulica da Provincia do Malabar | por Ignacio | Aichamoni impressor della, Ambalacatta em 30. de Lulho, | 1679 annos.

Counting from the title page, there are altogether 541 pages.

03. Ignacio Bruno (1576–1659), an Italian Jesuit who worked over thirty years on the Southern coast of India, and in the kingdom of Jaffna, compiled a dictionary which contained several words also of the poetic language as well as words from the Jaffna and the pearl fishery coast dialects. Manuscript copies of his dictionaries were very popular among the missionaries. The work seems to have been of considerable merit since Proenca refers to it in his preface as a work of vast endeavour and a work deserving of everlasting remembrance. Among its merits was that

---

* WICKI JOSEPH, *Documenta Indica*, Vol. II, Document 64, 16. Rome, 1960—in series Monumenta, Historica Societatis Iesa.

† See THANI NAYAGAM, XAVIER S., *The First Books printed in Tamil*, in *Tamil Culture*, Vol. VII, (1958) pp. 288–308.

it contained many words current in poetic usage, as well as words in colloquial usage within the kingdom of Jaffna.‡

04. Proenca's dictionary was published posthumously by the Jesuit press in Ambalacat on 30th July, 1679, thirteen years after the death of the compiler. It seems obvious that the Dictionary was published in this particular year in order to celebrate the centenary of the publication of the first substantial book in Tamil, the translation of the catechism of Marcos Jorge, which was also the first work to be undertaken by the newly established Tamil Press in Malabar. A booklet of 16 pages was printed in 1558 in Quilon, but it was not important enough to serve as a landmark.

Copies of Proenca's dictionary seem to have been available in the last century in India itself.§ The present writer found in 1954 a copy of this dictionary in the Vatican Library, a copy which originally belonged to the Library of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide. The editors of the Madras *Tamil Lexicon* were unable to trace a copy, and though mentioning this work, had no possibility of utilising it in the composition of the lexicon.¶

05. Proenca's introduction is of very great interest to the historian of Tamil lexicography, and is therefore given as an appendix to this article. The compiler was far from feeling that he was undertaking a definitive work in Tamil-Portuguese lexicography. He was aware of his limitations, since he had begun the study of Tamil only in 1653, that is, thirteen years before his death, and having not had the opportunity to work in places like Tuticorin and Jaffna, where local usages were many and of particular interest to Catholic missionaries since these places had flourishing Catholic communities.

06. The dictionary was revised by other missionaries. The Censors who went through the work prior to publication are said to have been familiar with the Tamil language and worked in the Tamil districts for several years. Those who revised the Dictionary are said to be Fathers Anthony Pereira, Velerian Cataneo, John de Maya and "other missionaries".*

07. The method followed by Proenca, in his compilation of the Dictionary, are stated by him in his introduction. He collected the words from all previous manuscript dictionaries, presumably Tamil-Latin and Tamil-Portuguese. To these he added other words found by analysing the works of Robert de Nobili (fl. 1620) and Manuel Martins (fl. 1634). He

‡ Brief sketches of the literary works of these missionaries may be had in PERERA, S. G., The Jesuits in Ceylon, Nobili Press, Madura, 1941.

§ Ferroli, D. The Jesuits in Malabar, Vol. I. Bangalore City, 1939. p. 470.

¶ TAMIL LEXICON—University of Madras, 1936. Introduction pp. XXXVI–VII.

* See *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, (new series) Vol IX, 1913, pp. 149–171. Earliest Jesuit printing in India, from the Spanish of the Rev. Cecilio Gomez Rodeles, S.J., *Translated* by the Rev. L. Cardon, S.J., and edited by Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.

read also many books written by the natives, elucidated meanings by consulting natives learned in Tamil, and added words collected by conversing with them in Tamil.

He deliberately included in his dictionary only a limited number of words pertaining to literary Tamil but many words of colloquial Tamil, including words peculiar to the usage popular among "inferior" social classes and the rural population. The words peculiar to the Jaffna kingdom, he was able to collect from the manuscript dictionary of Ignacio Bruno, and the words peculiar to the pearl fishery coast of South India, he collected by analysing the work *Flos Sanctorum* of Henriquez which abounded in the dialectal peculiarities of that area.

08. For words of more standardised usage, he relied on the purity of the language as spoken in the Pandyan kingdom and in the Marawa country. Since Brahmin usage was considered respectable by the society with which he came in contact, he included words used by them and the pronunciation affected by them. But he did not include many words of poetic usage since these could be learned by those who desired greater proficiency or wished to compose poetry, from the manuscript dictionaries of poetic usage or "high" Tamil. Proenca's was a more practical approach, to provide a handy dictionary to Portuguese missionaries learning Tamil for purposes of ordinary, evangelical ministration. A difficulty in giving precise meanings to words was, says Proenca, not only his insufficient knowledge of the language but also the conflicting opinions among natives regarding meanings of specific words.

09. Proenca did not choose the easier way of transliterating Tamil words into Roman, but he did follow to a certain extent the order of the Roman alphabet in listing his Tamil words, partly for easier reference by the foreign missionaries, and partly since one Tamil grapheme might stand for a plural number of Latin letters as expressed in Portuguese pronunciation, e.g. க as in காம் (சரம்) might stand for |*ca.* | *cha.* | *ja.* | In these instances of plural phonemic value given to one Tamil grapheme, the dictionary designates which of the corresponding Portuguese phonemes is the equivalent. Portuguese phones corresponding to the Tamil ones had been noted by Portuguese speakers since the beginning of the 16th century, and therefore it is not surprising that Proenca reaches a fair measure of accuracy regarding tongue position in the pronunciation of phonemes peculiar to Tamil. (See preface)

1.0 Proenca's introduction enumerates the Tamil symbols and gives the Roman letter or syllable which corresponds to the Tamil sounds. The author points out the manner in which Tamil sounds unfamiliar to Europeans are produced, the location of the tongue with regard to the palate for the retroflex *l, d* and the alveolar *l* and *n*. He notes there are no distinctive symbols for the long *e* (ஏ) and the long *o*. (ஓ)

1.1 The movement to preserve Tamil sounds and Tamil words free of Sanskritic influence is not a movement born in the present century, but has been a trend throughout the history of Tamil Nad's contact with Sanskrit. There is evidence for the 17th century from Proenca's reference

to purists or pure Tamils (os Tamuis puros) who avoid the vocabulary and the phonology of Granta. He also provides evidence for the same century of the trend towards Sanskritisation among learned Tamils who affected imitation of Brahmin diction and Brahmin enunciation.

1.2 There are altogether 16,546 separate main entries against which meanings are given in Portuguese words. What some lexicographers might not treat as separate entries, Proenca does. Words which are given as subsidiary entries under one main entry, have not been counted as separate entries.

Therefore the total of nominal, verbal, participial, adjectival and compound forms and idioms in the dictionary, if counted single and separately, would make a total vocabulary much larger than the figure 16,546.

1.3 The number of entries under letters corresponding to the Tamil vowels and consonants are as follows with the corresponding pagination. The order given below is the alphabetical order followed in the Dictionary, and the pagination is the one introduced by considering the title page as page 1. Pages 1 to 8 contain the title page, the approval of the Censors, of the Jesuit Provincial, and of the Supreme Tribunal of the Holy Inquisition, Goa. Pages 9 to 19 contain the Introduction.

LETTERS		PAGES	MAIN ENTRIES
அ	A	20 — 63	1383
ஆ	A	63 — 75	367
ப	B	75 — 79	114
ச	C	79 — 80	25
த	D	80 — 84	168
எ	E	84 — 96	408
க	G	96 — 99	69
இ	I	99 — 116	530
ஈ	I	116 — 117	62
ய	Y	117 — 122	59
ச	I	122 — 125	108
ல	L	125 — 128	89
ம	M	128 — 170	1280
ந	N	170 — 197	869
ஞ	—	197 — 198	17
ஒ	O	200 — 208	306
ப	P	208 — 275	2125
க	Q	275 — 350	2388
ர	R	350 — 356	175
ட	—	356 — —	22
ச	S	356 — 367	374
த	T	367 — 414	1558
உ	V	414 — 435	685

LETTERS		PAGES	MAIN ENTRIES
வ	V	435 — 488	1499
ச	X	488 — 541	1866
			16546

1.4 The words are listed under each Tamil and Portuguese as given above. But under the particular letter, the Portuguese alphabetical order is found. Thus under A, words with *ab* sounds come first, then *ach* sound initials, then *ag, al, am* initials etc.

1.5 As a sample of early Tamil typography this dictionary is inferior to the *Flos Sanctorum* of 1584. The type is not as clear and the quality of the paper gives it a smudgy appearance; the paper is very transparent. Photostats obtained from a microfilm have not been as clear or as easy to read as those obtained from a microfilm of the *Flos Sanctorum.* The Tamil portions were engraved on wooden blocks while the Portuguese was printed in movable type. The wooden blocks got worn out by use.

1.6 The dictionary was printed in the press set up by the Jesuit Fathers at the College Madre de Deus, in Ambalacat, Malabar, now Kerala. The printer was a native Indian, Ignacio Aichamoni probably Accamani, அச்சாமணி. The press is called the Tamil Press of the Province of Malabar—"Na imprensa Tamulica da Provincia do Malabar, por Ignacio Aichamani impressor della, Ambalacatta em 30. de Lulho 1679 annos". There appears to have been a separate press for Syriac and Malayalam at Vaipicota.

1.7 The orthography of the dictionary represents the Tamil and Portuguese orthography of the seventeenth century. The consonants have no *pulli* or dot; the *r* has no elongation and looks like ா; the long *e* and *o* are not distinct from the short *e* and *o*; the double looped *kombu* has not been introduced; the cacuminal *r* has only one loop instead of the double loop as at present. The orthography is substantially of the same pattern as that used in the Tamil books printed a hundred years earlier in the sixteenth century. The orthographic reforms introduced by Beschi were yet to come about fifty years later.

The spelling varies, and the compiler and the sources which he used, seem to have been dependent to a large extent on reproducing sounds as heard in the speech of rural districts. Therefore there are several examples of substitution of ர for ற, and ள and ண or vice versa, and of violations of the rules of sandhi.

1.8 Note on the Portuguese orthography, by Prof. Edgar C. Knowlton.

If we compare Proenca's spelling with Portuguese orthography as presented by Edwin B. Williams, *From Latin to Portuguese* (2nd ed., Philadelphia, 1962), pp. 19-28, we see a number of features particularly mentioned by Williams, and others as well. Chronologically, Proenca comes in the "etymological period", but in general words are spelled in

accordance with their sound rather than in accordance with real or supposed Greek or Latin etyma. Common sense characterizes Proenca's orthography, which is fairly consistent, and free from exaggeration.

The use of a long *f*-like *s*, the appearance of the til over the second vowel of a diphthong (for which occasionally two accents or a diaeresis may be found), and the introduction of numerous Latin words are features especially noteworthy.

Examples of Proenca's spelling differing from modern Portuguese new orthography which illustrate features dealt with by Williams are as follows:

(A) Confusion of Graphs (Williams, pp. 20–21)

1. Use of *qu* for *c* or *c* for *qu*
   quoalho (426) as well as *coalho* (426) for *coalho.*

2. Confusion of *i*, *y*, and *j*
   cysne (37) for *cisne, ianeiro* (258) for *janeiro, iornal* (346) for *jornal, meyo* (388) for *meio.*

3. Confusion of *u* and *v*
   pouoacao (46) for *povoacao,* vza (211) for *usa, chaue* (409) for *chave, insensiuel* for *insensivel* and *reuerencia* for *reverencia* on sample page.

4. Confusion of *m*, *n*, and til or diaeresis
   gran (45) for *grao, dize* (45) for *dizem, hu* (47) for *um. birreto* (52) for *birrento, co* for *com* on sample page.

(B) The Use of *h* (Williams, pp. 21–24)

1. Use of *h* before initial vowels:
   hum (24) for *um, he* for *e* on sample page.

2. Other examples of *h*
   athe (114) and *a the* (114) for *ate*

(C) The Use of Double Consonants (Williams, pp. 25–26)
   aquillo (22) for *aquilo, estrella* (62) for *estrela, applicado* (119) for *aplicado* but *aplica* (130) for *aplica, collo* (126) for *colo, capello* (171) for *capelo, delle* (211) for *dele, peccados* (217) for *pecados. sacrifficio* (363) fo *sacrificio.*

Further interesting graphic features include:

(D) Interchange of Graphs

1. Use of *z* for *g*
   indulzencia (45) for *indulgencia,* found also as *indulgencia* (47).

2. Use of *s* for *z* and *z* for *s*
   pezo (112) for *peso, disem* (126) for *dizem, Cosinha* (142) for *cozinha, busina* (150) for *buzina, vza* (211) for *usa, arais* (472) for *a raiz.*

3. Use of *s* for *c*, *ss* for *ç*
   serta (46) for *certa*, *sincouenta* (192) for *cincoenta*, sinco (426) for *cinco*, *passo* for *paco* on sample page.

4. Use of *g* for *j*
   sogeito for sujeito on sample page.

5. Use of *r* for *rr*
   guera (64) for *guerra*.

6. Division and Non-division of Words
   athe and *a the* (114) for *ate*; *a inda* (331) for *ainda*, *denoite* (352) for *de noite*; *de pois* (373) for *depois*; *arais* (472) for *a raiz*.

7. Metathesis or Shift of Position of *r*
   perterito (211) for *preterito*; *treceira* (457) for *terceira*.

8. Examples of Non-Standard Spelling of Vowel or Diphthong
   may (41) for *mae*, *honerifico* (62) for *honorifico*; *fruita* (146) for *fruta*, *pera* (192) *para*, *oitubro* (309) for *outubro*, *doirado* (338) for *dourado*, *sogeito* for *sujeito* on sample page.

9. Use of Til in Abbreviation
   q (128, 334) *for que*.

This list makes no attempt at completeness. It perhaps should be said that some of these spellings as well as those which are transliterations of Tamil words could be studied for the light they might shed on details of seventeenth-century Indo-Portuguese.

1.9 Here is the reprint in modern type of a page of the Dictionary, page 74 in our numbering. Entries are in double column.

ஆவிக்கிறது—Desejar. (To desire)

ஆவிக்குகை—O desejar (The desiring)

ஆவு—Vaca. (Cow)

A x.

ஆசந்தி—Tumba, ou charola dos defuntos. (Tomb, or litter for the dead)

ஆசனம்—Assento aliquando traseiro, modeste (Seat *sometimes* rump *modestly*)

ஆசன்னம்—Presenca, assistencia. (Presence, attendance).

ஆசன்னன்—Proximo, presente, assistente. (Next, present, in attendance).

ஆசான்—Quod ஆச்சரியன் mestre. (Because) (master)

ஆசரணை—Veneracao. (Veneration)

ஆசன்னை—Quod ஆசன்னம்—vt supra. (Because) (as above)

ஆசரியன்—Quod. ஆச்சரியன் mestre. (Master) (Because)

ஆசறய—C. de sogeito. (T)hing of a subject.

ஆசறயாதாரம்—Sogeito. (Subject)

ஆசற்பயம்—Idem. The *Same*

ஆசாபாசம்—Desejo, quasi (Desire, *as it were*)
desiderij vnio. (*Unity of desire*)

ஆசாரத்தனம்—Quod ஆசாசாரத்தனம் (Because)

ஆசாரக்குறை—Falta moral (moral fault (lack)

ஆசாரம்—Costume politico, ou policia, com que se trata, item porta ou templo, item cortesia, co பணாறுகிறது fazer cortesia, reuerencia.
(Political custom, or policy, with which one deals, *likewise* gate, or temple, *liksewise* courtesy, with பணாறுகிறது to make a bow, reverence.

ஆசரிச்ச—C. que celebrou, ou celebrada, festejada. (Thing) which took place, or was celebrated, feasted over.)

ஆசரிப்பிக்கிறது—Fazer celebrar, & c. (To cause to celebrate, *etc.*)

ஆசரிப்பு—Celebridade (Celebration)

ஆசரிக்கிற—C. que celebra. (Thing) which celebrates)

ஆசரிக்கிறது—Celebrar, guarder os costumes, ou festas, item tratar co cortesia, honrar. (To celebrate, preserve customs, or feasts *likewise* to treat with courtesy, to honour)

ஆசரிச்சுகை—O tal celebrar. (Such celebrating)

ஆசாரி—Carpenter

ஆசாரியன்—Quod ஆசசாரியன் (which)

ஆசெத்தனம்—Idem: subst. (The *same:* subst (antive).

ஆசிச்ச—C. desejada. (Desired t(hing).

ஆசாரியக்குறை—Falta moral (mora fault (lack).

ஆசாரவாசல்—Porta principal do passo (Principal gate of the passage/palace)

ஆசாரன்—H. bem acostumado, politico cortezao. M(an) well accustomed, politician, courtier.

ஆசை Desejo, co படுகிறது desejar (Desire, with To Desire)

ஆசெதன—C. insensiuel, que naonne viuente, como pao, & c. (Insensible t(hing) which is not living, like wood, etc.

Latin words translated are underlined in the English Translation. Compare with photographic reproduction of this page to note the orthographic peculiarities of the period —ா for ர, ெ for ே, absence of pulli etc.

ஆசிக்கிறது. Desejar.
ஆசிக்குதை. O desejar.
ஆ: Vaca.

A x.

ஆசந்தி Tumba, ou charola dos defuntos.
ஆசனம். Assento, aliquando traseiro, modeste.
ஆசன்னம் . Presença, assistencia.
ஆசன்னன் . Proximo, presente, assistente.
ஆசான். Quod ஆச்சாரியன். mestre.
ஆசாரம், Veneraçaõ.
ஆசாளேர் . Quod ஆசாரம். vt supra.
ஆசாரியன். Quod ஆச்சாரியன். mestre.
ஆசாய் . C. de sogeito.
ஆசாய்த்தானம். Sogeito.
ஆசிரயம், Idem.
ஆசாபாசம். Desejo, quasi ஆசையின் பாசம். desiderij vnio.
ஆசாகனம். Quod ஆசாசாத னம்.
ஆசாரிக்குறை. Falta moral.
ஆசாரம். Costume politico, ou policia, com que se trata, ite a porta, ou alpendre do passo, ou templo, item cortesia, cõ பண்ணுகிறது. fazer cortesia, reuerencia.
ஆசரித்த. C. que celebrou, ou celebrada, festejada.
ஆசரிப்பிக்கிறது. Fazer celebrar, &c.
ஆசரிப்பு Celebridade.
ஆசரிக்கிற. C. que celebra.
ஆசரிக்கிறது. Celebrar, guardar os costumes, ou festas, item tratar cõ cortesia, honrar.
ஆசரிக்குதை. O tal celebrar.
ஆசாரி. Carpinteiro.
ஆசாரியன் . Quod ஆச்சாரியன்.
ஆசாரியக்குறை! Falta moral.
ஆசாரவாசல். Porta principal do passo.
ஆசாரன். H. bem acostumado, politico, cortezaõ.
ஆசை . Desejo, cõ படுகிறது: desejar.
ஆசேதன. C. insensivel, que naõ hé viuente, como pao, &c.
ஆசேதனம், Idem: subst.
ஆசித்த. C. desejada.

TC—2

2.0 The following 113 words are a random sampling from the 44 pages which contain the 1383 entries beginning with the short 'A'. They are reproduced in modern orthography. The spelling also indicates that the compiler has had to rely sometimes exclusively on the spoken language of people in the Coastal districts. The numbers within brackets indicate the page in the serial numbering

அதிரசம்	(24)
அகமலன்	(25)
அகம்படியாள்	(25)
அசடு	(26)
அய்யாயிரம்	(26)
அல்குல்	(29)
அல்லி	(29)
அளம்	(30)
அழகன்	(30)
அழகிபவர்ணான்	(30)
அயர் . . . ஆடுகிறது	(32)
அமவாசி	(33)
அம்பலம்	(33)
அம்பட்டன்	(34)
அம்பி	(34)
அம்புலி	(34)
அம்மன்	(34)
அம்மணம்	(34)
அம்மாயி	(35)
அம்மானை	(35)
அம்மி	(35)
அம்சம்	(35)
அந்தணர்	(35)
அந்தரம்	(36)
அந்தி	(36)
அனல்	(36)
அனைவரும்	(37)
அன்னை	(37)
அன்புடையான்	(37)
அனுதாபம்	(39)
அனுபந்தம்	(37)
அனுபவம்	(37)
அனுருபகாரணம்	(39)
அணிவிரல்	(40)
அண்ணாக்கு	(40)
அண்ணாவி	(40)
அண்டம்	(41)
அஞ்சல்	(41)
அஞ்சல்க்குதிரை	(41)
அஞ்சலி	(41)
அங்கம்	(42)
அங்கனியாசம்	(42)
அங்கசாலை	(42)
அங்காடி	(43)
அங்காடிக்காறன்	(43)
அங்குலம்	(43)
அங்குசம்	(43)
அங்குதன்	(43)
அப்பம்	(43)
அப்பன்	(43)
அப்பச்சி	(43)
அப்பாடா	(43)
அப்பாக்கியன்	(43)
அப்பாவி	(44)
அப்பிளம்	(44)
அப்பிறம்	(44)
அப்பிறமாணிக்கம்	(44)
அப்பு	(44)
அரிவாள்	(48)
அரிவரி	(48)
அருமாந்த	(48)
அருளிச்செய்கிறது	(48)
அரும்பு	(49)
அருவி	(49)
அரூபி	(49)
அறம்	(49)
அறன்	(49)
அறணை	(49)
அறவே	(50)
அறியாமை	(50)
அறிக்கை	(50)
அறிவாளி	(50)
அறிவிப்பு	(50)
அற்பசி	(51)
அஸ்திவாரம்	(57)
அறுஞன்	(52)
அரைஞாண்	(52)
அறுவறி	(52)
அடலை	(52)
அடலை முடலை	(52)
அடம்பன்	(52)
அடப்பன்	(53)
அடைக்கலம்	(54)
அடைகோட்டை	(54)
அடே	(55)
அடிக்கபு	(55)
அட்டை	(56)
அடுப்பு	(56)

அடுக்கலை	(56)	அவிசுவாசம்	(60)
அஸ்தமானம்	(56)	அசடன்	(61)
அஸ்தசுரம்	(57)	அசடி	(61)
அத்தம்	(57)	அசாத்தியம்	(61)
அத்தாள்	(57)	அசைநிலை	(62)
அத்திமரம்	(57)	அசுபதி	(62)
அவதரிப்பு	(57)	அசுகுனி	(62)
அவதானி	(58)	அசுரன்	(63)
அவதாரம்	(58)	அஷ்டமி	(63)
அவதி	(58)	அஷ்ரம்	(63)
அவநம்பிக்கை	(58)	அக்ஷராப்பியாசம்	(63)
அவிபல்	(59)		

The above sampling of words indicate that the dictionary is valuable to several branches of Tamil Studies related to the seventeenth century.

Proencas dictionary is the great landmark for the 17th century. This dictionary was followed in the 18th century by the manuscript dictionary of Father Bourges, S.J., and the manuscript dictionaries of Joseph Constantine Beschi, the *Sathur Akarati* in Tamil, and the *Vulgaris Tamulicae linguae dictionarium Tamulico-Latinum* which contains 8541 main entries and 10,628 subsidiary entries, a total of 19,169 words and idioms. This dictionary is an excellent collection of colloquial Tamil words, phrases and idioms and contains several references to dialectical peculiarities of different regions of the Tamil Country.

The printing press in Tranquebar offered to print Beschi's colloquial dictionary, but for some reason did not do so. The dictionary was not printed until, 1882. John Philip Fabricius and John Christopher Breithaupt published in 1779 their dictionary: "A Malabar and English Dictionary wherein the words and phrases of the Tamulian language, commonly called by Europeans the Malabar language are explained in English", (pp. 185). It contained 9000 main entries. This was enlarged to 37,000 entries by Rottler, and to 67,000 entries by Winslow, both of whom referred to Fabricius Dictionary as the "old dictionary" "*A Dictionary of the English and Malabar languages" of 280 pages followed in 1786.*†

---

† LEHMANN ARNO. It Began in Tranquebar, Christian Literature Society, Bombay, 1956, page 160.

Preface to the Tamil—Portuguese Dictionary, 1679

Translated by

EDGAR C. KNOWLTON JR. AND
XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM

Dedicated to the Fathers Preachers of the Gospel, who speak to Tamilians, by Fr. Antao de Proenca, of the Company of Jesus, Missionary of the Mission of Madura.

To the Pious and Zealous Reader:

I undertake the work, which all those wish to see published, who, inspired by zeal for the salvation of souls, apply themselves to the study of the Tamil language, without which little or no apostolate can be achieved in the various Kingdoms of this East, where it is current. And in as much as the vocabulary of a language is the primary help in knowing it, all wish to have one of the Tamil language, and many have even attempted to compile one. With the special desire to encompass the rich abundance of this language, and also to satisfy the wish of many and to serve all, I have made up my mind to begin this work, which I hope with God's favour to see completed in some way or other. This work will be more complete than other dictionaries, more precise as regards the equivalents of the words and their definitions and purer in the choice of words.

I promise to list a greater number of words, because of additions to those found in other vocabularies, principally in the one composed with tireless endeavour in the course of more than thirty years by Fr. Ignacio Bruno (who later twice governed this Province). This I have read over and over again despite its vastness,—a work that would deserve everlasting remembrance even if either the Portuguese or the Tamil language were native to the author. In addition to including the words of this vocabulary, in comparison with which some others in circulation (and I have seen them also) are like pools compared to the sea, I have entered all those found in the works of Fr. Robert Nobili and of Fr. Manuel Martins, books through which we, who work in this mission, learn the best speech. For this purpose I have also read many books of the natives; finally, I have added those words which I have acquired or am acquiring by talking and dealing with the natives. Because of taking them from books, I promise more exact equivalents, for herein can be seen better their vigour and force; as regards other words, I have profited by consulting with learned men. I promise greater purity of the words because I am writing this work in the Kingdom where they are best chosen and purest; and also because I took most of them from the books mentioned above, wherein are found only well-chosen words, which can be used in any sort of serious conversation.

But I caution that I do not promise such a copious vocabulary as to exhaust the Tamil language (since the books in prose, wherefrom alone one can take those words which serve for practical use, are so rare). Only by the study and labour of many years and by many research-workers can they be completely included. Neither do I promise such precision of meaning as to eliminate the need for maturer consideration, for as regards many words, it is very difficult to give the exact meaning, and only one very well versed in both languages can do it well; and I, having started this vocabulary in the very first year when I began to learn the language, which was in 1963, do not even to-day have such a fund of knowledge of Tamil as to be able to give definite decisions about all the words, especially when after consulting the natives themselves, I have found them in disagreement and with conflicting opinions. I do not doubt that there will be found here many words, the meaning of which will have to be changed or made clearer later on. Regarding the purity and dignity of the words (*pureza e alteza de palavras*), I well understand that it would be better to include both high and low, pure and corrupt, in accordance with the usage of the various classes of people, so as thus to meet better the range of the language, with particular indication of words used by humble and rural people, and those current only on the Coast* and in the Kingdom of Jaffanapatam, especially since this vocabulary is intended for the use of priests in that Kingdom and on the Coast. But in as much as to include words current only in those places would require a few years of residence there, I leave this research for another occasion. Nevertheless, I shall include those I can collect from the *Flos Sanctorum* printed on the Fishery Coast and from the vocabulary of Fr. Ignacio Bruno prepared in Jaffanapatam, and finally those which are current in this Kingdom of Madura among the lower classes, as far as I have been able to collect them. I shall leave out also poetic words (of which the vocabulary of Fr. Ignacio Bruno is full) because they are useless for practical purposes or for prose, and the Tamil poets have their own vocabularies for them, in which those who are interested and might wish to compose verses may find them. But I include many Sanskritic words, both for the sake of those who read the books of Fr. Robert (Nobili) in which they are numerous, and also because they commonly occur in the ordinary conversation of the Brahmins, whose language is more elevated, and whom Tamilians, who consider themselves learned and wish to speak seriously and with care, try to imitate. All these varieties of words we shall differentiate by their signs.

Order followed in this vocabulary

I thought of writing this entire work in Portuguese characters, inserting the Tamil ones wherever ours cannot indicate the sounds. It seemed to me that by using the former, I would facilitate reading and looking up words, and by using the latter I would further correctness of pronunciation, convincing myself that thereby it would be more pleasing chiefly to those who do not wish to take a little trouble to learn to read Tamil characters.

* Coast is the Pearly Fishery Coast, or the South Eastern Coast of South India.

But as I would in this way be yielding to the lazy and would not be encouraging the interest of those who wish to know how to write any words with the correct letters, I did not give in to these thoughts. Moreover, for those who will be reading Tamil books only, this method will prove useful. But I neither fully rejected nor altogether adopted this idea, because while writing everything in Tamil characters I follow the order of the corresponding letters of the Portuguese alphabet, and so, although the letters are Tamil, the (order of) arrangement is Portuguese.

The first reason that prompted me to follow this order was the ease it afforded in looking up words, because vocabularies arranged in alphabetical order were devised so that words looked for might more easily be found. And the better arrangement the vocabulary has, the easier it is to achieve its purpose. It seems evident that the order which I follow will aid in the searching for words; since I am preparing this vocabulary only for priests, it is clear that in as much they know by heart and as natural (to them) the Portuguese alphabet and the Latin, it will be easier for them to look up the words in the order of their own alphabet, thereby dispensing with the need of committing to memory the Tamil alphabet and the order of its letters so perplexing and contrary to our own with the variety of *n*'s, *r*'s and *l*'s (the knowledge of the value of each of them being enough). Against this reason there is one instance, namely, that the other vocabularies, even when written for Latins, always follow the order of the alphabet of the language in which they are written, as can be seen in Greek or Hebrew; wherefor it would seem better that, following the example of the others I should not leave the natural order demanded by the language and characters in which I write, just to avoid a little work in learning by heart a foreign alphabet, which those who want to use the Greek or Hebrew vocabulary do study. And all the more so, because by continually searching, the order of the Tamil letters will easily become familiar, and this having been attained, there will not be any difficulty in looking up words. To this question, which I confess made me waver many times, I reply that in the other alphabets there are not the perplexity and variety of letters, so contrary and barbarous to our pronunciation, as there are in Tamil (as we shall see in the second reason); therefore, I have decided not to follow the example of the others. As for my deviating from the natural Tamil order, I answer that I am not writing this for Tamilians, but for the Portuguese, for whom the natural order is the one that I follow, all the more since the order which is most natural for the vocabulary is the one that is easiest.

The second reason that prompted me to follow this order is the variety and barbarity of the letters of the Tamilians, who for want of enough characters, have several pronunciations for the same letter, as one may see in the letter, ச which serves now for *cha*, now for *xa*, and at other times for *sa* or *ja*. If one were to put in one place all the words beginning with this letter, you can well see the confusion that would arise regarding pronunciation, which is avoided by placing the words that are to be pronounced as *cha* under our *C*; those that will be pronounced *xa* under our *X*, etc. All the above may be seen in the word காம* which can be

* சாம்

read in four ways, i.e. *churam, xuram, juram* and *suram*; the first two pronunciations mean nothing, the third name "fever", and the fourth "voice". The same is seen in the letters ச, க, ப for the word காயம் may be read as *cayam* or *gayam*, the first meaning "body" and the second "wound". The word தண்டு may be read as *tandu* or *dandu*, the first meaning "stalk" and the second "army". The word பாதை may be read *padey* or *badey*; the first means "road", the second "torment". One sees at a glance that to teach in order to distinguish these various ways of pronouncing the letters, the method I use should be adopted.

But this second reason also has one thing against it, namely, that the division indicated above is all right for those who know the correct pronunciation; those who know that it is pronounced *x* will look up the word under *X*, and what is pronounced *l* will be looked for under *L*, etc. But those who read books and come upon a word beginning with any of the aforesaid letters and do not know their value, e.g. whether ச is *xa* or *cha*, whether த is *t* or *d*, and so forth, will have to search under all these letters in the vocabulary in order to discover the meaning of the word in question. It is clear that this impedes facility in searching. It would be easier to put in one place all the words according to the Tamil order, with special dots, or signs to meet the confusion and variety of pronunciation. We answer that if we wished to differentiate these letters by new signs, it would amount to forming new characters, and so for the letter ச alone, which has four different pronunciations, we should need to insert four kinds of dots, lines, or other signs, in addition to some general ones, about which we shall explain later on. To avoid confusion in searching, we shall put all words beginning with ச under our *X*, because this is the most universal pronunciation, and shall refer to their respective places those which should be pronounced as *s* or *j* or *ch*; those that begin with க we shall put under the letter, *Q* for reasons which we shall state in that place; those beginning with த under *T*; those beginning with ப under *P*, referring to *G*, *D* and *B*, those words having such pronunciation; thus, while providing ease in looking up the words, without the confusion of so many signs, the words remain separated in their respective places. Let not anyone say to me that this implies many references and repetitions, for it is better to repeat than to perplex, and better to find one word in two places rather than not to know its correct pronounciation, all the more so since the definition, phrase, and erudition, which in many instances are inserted, are not repeated but are referred to the proper place; moreover, not all words need be repeated, but only the principal ones, which are listed in their correct places accompanied by their derivatives. Besides this, what words are placed under the letters *C, S, I, (J), B,* and *D,* are so few that their repetition under the letters *X, Q, T* and *P* does not take up much more space.

Concerning the form, value, and pronunciation of the Tamil characters

VOWELS

அ	ஆ	இ	ஈ	உ	ஊ	எ	ஐ	ஒ	ஔ
a	à	i	i	u	ù	e	ay	o	au

Explanation of these vowels presents no difficulty, because they correspond to ours, but have as their peculiarity the differentiation between long and short values, especially as regards the vowels *a* and *i*, and *u*; with *e* and *o* the same figure is used for the long and the short values. The language also has the diphthong *ay* formed from short *a* and *i*, although the sound tends more toward the *e* than the *a*. And the characters ஐ and ஔ are seldom used, because there are few words which begin with these diphthongs; moreover, these diphthongs assume other forms when they occur in the middle of a word, as we shall soon see; ஔ is made up of short *a* and *u*, but it is not so common as the first diphthong even in the medial position. When the diphthong does occur, in writing it they use another form, as is also the case with ஐ in the initial position. All the characters of the vowels mentioned above are not used except at the beginning of the word, when it begins with a vowel; for the medial vowels we have signs and distinctions, which we shall explain later.

CONSONANTS

க	ங	ச	ஞ	ட	ண	த	ந	ப	ம	ய	ர	ல	வ	ழ	ள	ற	ன
q		ch	nh		ń	t	n	p	m	y	r	l	v	l	l	rr	n

The letter க corresponds to our *q* or *c*. Sometimes it is used as *g*, especially when it is written singly in the middle of a word.

The pronunciation of the letter ங is in itself very difficult. To explain it in some way or other, let us take our word *manga* and pronounce it up to the *n*, which, as I think, is not produced with the tip of the tongue, but (because it is before *g*) only by touching the palate with the base of the tongue, near the throat, keeping the tongue in that position without striking or pronouncing the *g*. If we strike that position of the tongue with *a* or with any other vowel, we shall produce the full value of the ங, But if anyone should not understand the pronunciation, let him disregard it, for this particular sound is of little consequence since this letter is rarely found preceding a vowel, but always occurs before க and then its pronunciation is very easy and natural for us, as seen in the word *manga*, which if we wish to write in Tamil letters will be ம, ங, க without having any other pronunciation but our usual one.

The letter ச by itself is called *ch*, but in writing sometimes serves as *s*, also sometimes as *x*, and other times as *j*, for want of characters which Grandam and Badaga have differentiated completely. Although some pure Tamilians do not want to or do not know how to pronounce it as *s* or *j*, they pronounce *x* not exactly but as mixture of *x* and *s* or of *s* and *j*. Inasmuch as the four sounds that this letter can have are all natural to us, it presents no difficulty.

The letter ஞ corresponds to our sound *nh* in the words *unha* or *castanha*. When in the middle of a word it occurs without a vowel, it will be found before ச or before another ஞ.

The letter ட is completely foreign to our pronunciation; but it is absolutely necessary to understand its natural sound, which is similar to the pronunciation of our *r*, but it occupies a higher position and is made

by striking with the tip of the tongue turned up slightly a spot where the plain and smooth surface of the palate begins. And whenever this letter is found doubled, டட the force with which it is struck is also doubled and it becomes like the sound of our *t* at the point described above, so that if one wants to reproduce these two sounds exactly, he must pronounce naturally our single *r* and our *t* and continue to raise the tongue and striking; if he strikes the rough surface extending upward from the teeth, then he will produce the correct sounds of ட and of டட, the first single and the second double.

The letter ண, which we call *n* of three eyes, is pronounced in the same position as ட, so that above our *r* we take the ட and above our *t* the டட. So starting on our *n* and raising the tongue let us pronounce ண. If it occurs medially without a consonant, it is always written before ட or before another ண.

The letter த corresponds to our *t*, although sometimes it stands for *d*, especially when it is single in the middle of a word.

The letter ந corresponds to our *n*, but is used only at the beginning of a word, or when in the middle of the word the *n* comes before த, in which case this ந is always used.

The letter ப corresponds to our *p*, protracted, although sometimes it is pronounced *b*, especially when it occurs alone in the middle of a word.

The letter ம corresponds to our *m* without any difference.

The letter ய is our *y* and is considered a consonant, and rightly so, such as we pronounce in the words *Mayo, Maya,* and in the Spanish *yà, yò.*

The letter *n* (ர) is our single *r*, as in *Vara, Vira,* etc.

The letter ல is our *l*.

The letter வ is our *v* consonant, as in *Vamos, cava,* etc.

The letter ழ which we call thick *l* is pronounced by turning the tongue completely, as far as it can go, and by touching it slightly to the palate; if the tongue does not touch the palate but remains, as it were, in the air, by folding it well and immediately turning it, all the better.

The letter ள which we call curved *l* is pronounced as *l*, in the position which we have indicated to use when pronouncing ட. This letter (and the following ones) is never written at the beginning of a word; neither is there any word beginning with this letter or with those which follow.

The letter ற corresponds to our double *r*, as in *torre, morra,* etc. If this letter is doubled (றற) it produces a different sound, which we can supply very well with the simple and natural sound of our double *t* (*tt*), even though the pure Tamilians give to it a particular inflection, which the Brahmins dispense with; also there is another sound which they produce when this letter occurs after ன as என்று, which the Brahmins pronounce as our double *n* (*nn*): *Ennu,* and so there is no need to bother about the

special inflection which the pure Tamilians give to these two pronunciations; in the first case they pronounce it as double *t*, and in the second as double *n*.

Finally, the letter ன corresponds to our *n*, but it occurs only in the middle or at the end of a word, and in this respect it differs from—.

Here ends the explanation of the simple letters, which when school children name them, they say them as vowels: *a*, as *ana, avana, i* as *ina, iana*, etc., and the consonants are named as *ca ana, ch ana pa—ana*, etc. Avoiding this method, we may designate them strictly by their sounds alone, *e.g. a à, i ì*, etc., and the consonants, *ca, cha, ta, ma*, etc. But we may wish to speak in a more polished manner, like the Brahmins, in which case we might say *agàram, àgàram, igram, igàram* and for the consonants *chagaram, tagaram, etc*. Similarly with the compounds, e.g. *Tigàram* for the syllable *ti*, *pugaram* for the syllable *pu*, etc.

Antão de Proença's Vocabulario Tamulico Lusitano:

Indo-Portuguese Elements

EDGAR C. KNOWLTON, Jr.

It is possible to read the Portuguese definitions in this Tamil-Portuguese dictionary by Father Antaõ do Proença from several stand-points with pleasure and profit. One soon becomes aware of the knowledge possessed by this seventeeth-century {priest of Tamilian culture, pronunciation, orthography, grammar, and usage. Use is made by him of Latin for grammatical terms and also for meanings which might offend the modesty of a Portuguese reader. The details of orthography are also interesting, for instance, the consistent placing of the *til* or *tilde* over the second vowel, rather than the first, of a nasal diphthong. Likewise, the student's attention may be attracted by details of Indian mythology or of the astronomical terms which are among the special areas of knowledge touched on more than superficially in the vocabulary.

Perhaps most precious is the evidence afforded in the definitions that certain words were known and used by speakers of Portuguese in India. Not every word used in a definition need, it is true, reflect the existence of an exoticism in the vocabulary of overseas Portuguese speakers of the seventeenth century, but in general the likelihood is that the appearance of a word in the Portuguese definition means that the exoticism was known and used by such speakers.

The Tamil letter transliterated *r* in such dictionaries as the Lexicon (for details see Bibliography which concludes this paper) appears to have required special transliterations so that a Portuguese user of the dictionary would be guided to an understandable pronunciation of words like *matsam* and *matsariam,* and so full weight cannot be given such romanisations of Tamil words in Portuguese definitions. Often, though, an exoticism appears in the definition of some enti-

rely different word, and then the assumption is strong indeed that the exoticism is a genuine example of Indo-Portuguese. Other sources of information regarding India's Portuguese agree with the evidence of this dictionary in many cases.

A preliminary list of exoticisms from the Proença dictionary follows. Portuguese exoticisms are listed in alphabetical order. For each word listed, the following information is supplied: (1) at least one instance of the word, in context, quoted from the definitions of the dictionary; (2) the Tamil word for which the definition was given; (3) an indication of the relevant page in the dictionary. Brief comments with references to relevant listings or discussions of the various exoticisms follow; references are made by shortened title or author in accordance with the listings in the Bibliography with volume and page numbers as necessary.

1. ajam — "... ex ajam, ouelha..." (from ajam, sheep).

அசகசாநந்தாம (60)

See Lexicon, I, 28, *acam*, the Tamil word for "goat" or "sheep." Note the use of Latin *ex*.

2. Ala maram — "A rais que o Ala maram lança dos ramos." (The root which the Ala marm extends from the branches).

விழுது (472)

See Lexicon, I, 247, *ālam maram*, Tamil for "banyan" and "tree."

3. aleà — "Aleà, Elefante femea." (Alea, female elephant).

பிடியானை (257)

See G.P. Malalasekara, *English-Sinhalese Dictionary* (Colombo, 1958), 298, under "elephant", where *aliah* is the first entry. See also C.E. Luard's translation of *Travels of Sebastian Manrique* (Oxford, 1927), I, 108, for this word, *aleas*.

4. **Ará** — See definition of *Ziuem* (under-*Xiuen*).

அர (45)

This is the Tamil word romanised.

5. aramanei — "Parte das colheitas, que usipera o aramanei." (Part of the harvests, used for the palace).

மெலவாரம (150)

See Lexicon, I, 121, for Tamil *ara-maṉai*, "palace".

6. areca — "o que menistra areca, e betle." (the one ministering areca, and betel).

அடபபககாறன (53)

See HJ1, 25; HJ2, 35; Webster's 145, "areca." The etymon appears to be Malayalam *aḍekka* from *aḍai*, "close arrangement of the cluster" and *kay*, "nut."

7. aruore de pagode — "Serta aruore, que tem as folhas como èra, que os gẽtios adoraõ e chamaõ aruore de pagode." :"A certain tree, which has its leaves like (èra ?) which the heathen worship, and call pagoda tree".

அரசு (46)

See Shorter OED. II, 1414,-s.v. "pagoda-tree," a name given to several trees, including the *Ficus indica*.

8. Axupati — "Senhor de caualos, titulo honorifico, Axupati." (Master of horses, honorific title, Axupati).

அசுபதி (62)

This is the romanisation of the Tamil word defined, one of those with the Tamil letter *c*.

9. Badagas — "Huma casta de Badagas, que se prezaõ de ser da geraçaõ do burro, e tem por honra acudir pelos burros."

(a caste of Badagas, who take pride in being of the generation of the donkey, and consider it as an honor to help donkeys).

கவுறை (303)

See also proença 469, 511. See Dalgado, I, 76, *badagas, badegas,* derived from Tamil *vaḍagar;* HJ1, 34; HJ2, 46 s.v. "Badega," Webster's, 202, s.v. "Badaga."

10. Baju

"Hum modo de gibaõ, ou corpinho das molheres, que, lhes cobre so òs peitos cõ mangas to o meyo do braço, bâju." (a type of jacket, or small bodice of women, which covers only their breasts with sleeves up to the middle of the arm, baju.)

ரவுக்கை (351)

See Dalgado, I, 81, *baju;* Silva Rêgo 116; HJ1, 35; HJ2, 46-47, "badjoe, bajoo"; Webster's, 205, "baju." The word is derived from Malay *baju.*

11. Beliguim

"Beliguim, executor, do que mandaõ os juizes, e maniagares." (Beliguim, executor, ordered by the judges, and monegars.)

விடுமணியக்காறன (478)

The word defined is close to Tamil *viṭṭu-maniyam* "stewardship." See Lexicon, VI, 3749.

12. betle

"o que menistra areca, e betle." (the one ministering areca and betel.)

அடப்பக்காறன (53)

See Origins, 46 "betel," HJ1, 67-68; HJ2, 89-90; Webster's 259. The word may be derived from Malayalam *veṭṭila,* that is, *veru* and *ila,* "simple or mere leaf," if not from Tamil *veṭṭilei;* it is

the name of the leaf of the *Piper betel*. See also Proença, 313, 373, 412, 422, 449.

13. boy — "Carga de hum boy . . ." (Load of a boy).

மறிகை (*140*)

See also Proença, 215, 303, 451. HJ1, 83; HJ2, 109–110, give "boy" as coming from Telugu and Malayalam *bōyi*, Tamil *bōvi*, name of the caste of palanquin bearers, for at least some instances of the word.

14. Bramana — "Bramana ruim, publica." (Low, public Brahmin women.)

அழிபிராமணத்தி (*31*)

See Shorter OED, I, 213, s.v. "Brahmin, Brahman," derived from Sanskrit, *Brahmana*. Also HJ2, 111–112. The Masculine plural, *brahmanes*, appears on p. 101 of Proença.

15. Brumâ — "Deus Brumâ" (God Brahma).

அயலன (*26*)

Also in Proença are found *Prumà* (37), *bruma* (158). See Shorter OED, I, 213 for "Brahma," the name of the God. (See also 78).

16. cabaya — "Vestido como roupeta, cabaya . . . (Clothing like a gown, cabaya).

சட்டை (*498*)

See Dalgado, I, 158, *cabaia*, derived from Arabic *cabá*. Also HJ1, 105–106; HJ2, 137–138. The latter source suggests that the word came into Portuguese directly from Arabic, and into Malay from either Arabic or Portuguese. It is further stated that the word is not now used in India Proper, unless by the Portuguese.

17. Caca — "Caca, ou ameijoas marisco." (Caca, or marine shell.)

காக்காச்சி (309)

See Lexicon, II, 840, *kākkācci*, "cockle," the Tamil word defined.

18. "Cachundei" — "Cachundei, huma confeiçaõ, que trasẽ na boca, fresea." (Cachundei, a confection, which they have at the mouth, freesia.)

காசக்கட்டை (305)

The first word of the definition is the romanisation of the Tamil word defined. See Webster's, 371, for "cachundei" as an English word (a pharmaceutical term), derived from Spanish *cachunde*. In a citation under "catechu," etc., HJ2, 173–174, gives a form "cachoonda." The etymology offered in HJ2 is that the word is ultimately from Kanarese *kāchu*, Tamil *kāsu*. Webster's 413, s.v. "catechu," gives Malay *kāchu* and Kanarese *kāchu* as etyma.

19. Caicol — "Caicol, vara de puxar o tone." (Caicol, pole to push the doney with).

தடக்கோல் (205)

See also Proença, 313, where the Tamil word of which this is the Portuguese romanisation is defined; see Lexicon, II, 1100, for *kai-k-kōl*, "staff, walking stick."

20. cainho — "H. cainho, ou birrēto." (Stingy man, or canbankerous).

அறுமபன (52)

H. is an abbreviation of *Homem*. This word is not, strictly speaking, an exoticism. See Silva Rêgo, 120, where the word is listed as characteristic of older and overseas Portuguese.

21. Calao — "...he um calaõ..." (It is a kalam).

மாககால (138)

See Lexicon, II, 778, for *kalam*, a measure of capacity. This instance gives the word as part of the definition of another Tamil measure; see *maracais* and *marcàs*. See also Proença, 426.

22. camales — "Huma joya, que os camales poem na cabeça em figura de pauaõ." (A jeivel, which the camales put on their head in the shape of a peacock).

மயிலார (131)

There are several words that are possibly relevant. See HJ2, 429–430, "hummaul," from Arabic *hammāl*, "porter"; Webster's, 1352, "kammalan," from Tamil *kammālan*, "artificer," Lexicon II, 761 and 764 for *karumakaṉ* and *karumaṉ*, respectively, "blacksmith"; and Lexicon, II, 76, for *kanaman*, with the same meaning. The connection with Tamil *kammālan* seems more likely.

23. Cambolym — "Manta, ou cobertor de cabelos de cabra, cãbolym." (Blanket, or cover of goat hair, cumbly.)

கமபிளி (283)

See also Proença, 329, *can bulim*, and 410, *càmbolim*. This word seems not to be connected with English "cameline, camboline," derived from Old French *camelin*. See HJ2, 279, under "cumbly, cumly, cummul," meaning "blanket," derived ultimately from Sanskrit *kambala*. Portuguese *cambolim* is cited in this work. See also Webster's 643, "cumbly", with etymon given as Hindustani *kamli*.

24. Canaaor

"Huma casta de figos compridos, como os de canaaor." (A type of long figs, like those of Canara.)

மொரதனபபழம (153)

This probably is the place name "Canara", (HJ1, 117–118; HJ2, 152–154), properly *kannaḍa*, "black country," that is, the Dravidian *kar*, "black," and *nādu*, "country."

25. Carambula

"Huma fruita, pera caril na figura, como carābu-la gonsalí." (a fruit, curry pear (?) in shape, like the carambola gonsalí.)

பிறகஙகாய (260)

See HJ1, 122–123; HJ2, 160, "carambola," the fruit name derived perhaps from Marathi *karanbal*, or *karambela* (ultimately from Sanskrit *karmara*). See also Webster's 401, s.v. "carambola."

26. Caranes

"H. ou m. que mostraõ caranes o rosto carregado." (Man or woman that shows a forbidding countenance. Cf. Portuguese *carão*, "large, ugly face.")

மொரடு (153)

H. and m. are abbreviations of *Homem* and *molher*. This word seems to be identical with the final part of the compound *moti-k-kāraṉ* (Lexicon, VI, 3384), an expression meaning "man with forbidding countenance, stylish man." Thẹre may be a connection with *karaṇa*, "the name of one of the (so-called) mixt castes of the Hindus, sprung from a Sudra mother and Vaisya father". See HJ2, 273–274, s.v. "cranny".

27. Carcupule

"Carcupule." (Corcopali).

கருவெபபுலி (sic) *(295/291)*

See HJ2, 254–255, "corcopali," the name of the fruit, *Garcinia indica*. A suggested etymon is Malayalam *koḍukka*, the fruit's name, and *puli*, "acid." Cf. also the reference to Forbes Watson's *List of Indian Productions*, where the *Garcinia cambogia* tree is equated with Tamil *karkapuliemaram* and Malayalam *kurkapulic*. The Tamil etymon seems tenable; *maram* is the Tamil word for "tree."

28. Caril

"Caril com mostarda, ou mostarda feita como uem a mesa." (Curry with mustard, or mustard prepared as it comes to the table.)

பசசடி *(208)*

Dalgado, I, 218, gives *caril*, "curry," as derived from Konkani, Marathi *kaḍhī*, or Malayalam-Tamil *kaṛi*. See HJ1, 217–219; HJ2, 281–283, s.v. "curry," where the etymon of Portuguese *caril* is given as Kanarese *karil*.

29. Cattamaroms

"...item remar dos cattamaroms." (also the rowing of catamarans.)

தொடுபெள *(404)*

See HJ1, 132–133; HJ2, 173, s.v. "catamaraṅ". Also Webster's, 421, "catamaran," derived from Tamil *kaṭṭu-maram*, from *kaṭṭu*, "tie," and *maram*, "tree." Also Shorter OED, I, 274.

30. Champana

"Remo grande de Champana." (Large oar of a sampan.)

அலவெசசாமாம *(29)*

See Webster's 2710, s.v. "sampan,"

where Chinese *san*[1] *pan*[3] is said to be derived from Portuguese *champão, champana,* and the Portuguese probably from Spanish *champán,* perhaps of Chibchan or Chocoan origin. See also HJ1, 140, s.v. "champana," and HJ2, 789, s.v. "sampan"; and Dalgado, I, 254–255, Where Malay *sampan* and/or Chinese *san*[1] *pan*[3] appear as probable etyma.

31. Chattim

"H. casta chattim." (a man of the chetty caste.)

வஙிசியன Quod. கொமுடடி (437)

See allso Proença, 457, *chatim.* See HJ2, 189, "chetty," defined as "a member of any of the trading castes in South India," and derived from Tamil *sheṭṭi.* See Lexicon, III, 1583, *ceṭṭi,* "vaisya or mercantile class." See Webster's 462, "chetty," where Malayalam *ceṭṭi* is also given.

32. Chiado

"Trauesso, chiado." (Mischievous, astute).

தொஙகன (401)

See Dalgado, I, 272, *chiado,* "astute, etc.," derived from Konkani *chyād* and ultimately Sanskrit *chadmin.* See also Silva Rêgo, 121, *chado,* "from Malay chadek," with similar meanings, and Schuchardt, 67, *chiado,* attested likewise in Ceylon Portuguese.

33. Chingalà

"H. chingalà." (Sinhalese man).

சிஙகளவன (79)

This means Sinhalese, and, according to HJ1, 635-636 and HJ2, 838–839, is derived from *Sinhala,* "Dwelling of

Lions", the name used by the nativef of Ceylon for their island.

34. Cornaca — "Cornaca." (Cornac).

மாவுததன (148)

See HJ1, 197-98, HJ2, 256, "cornac," meaning "elephant keeper," derived from Sinhalese *kūrawanāyaka*, "chies of the elephant stud."

35. Cris — "Brigar de Cris." (To fight with a cris).

இகலுகிறது (100)

See HJ1, 212-213, HJ2, 274-275, s.v. "crease, crise," and Webster's 623, s.v. "creese," derived from Malay *kris*.

36. Crixanē — "Huma aruore, em que dizem, que subio Crixanē." (A tree, on which they say Krishna climbed).

புனனைமரம (270)

See Shorter OED, I, 1094, for Krishna, "great deity of later Hinduism, worshipped as an incarnation of Vishnu.'

37. Cumrim — "Donzela, item o cabo de cumrim." (Virgin, also Cape Comorin.)

குமரி (338)

See Lexicon, II, 1003, for Tamil *kumari*, "virgin, maid; Cape Comorin," and HJ1, 184; HJ2, 238-239, s.v. "Comorin, Cape."

38. Curumi — "Huma casta e Bramanes que tem o curumi diante." (A caste of Brahmins which has the tuft of hair in front.)

சொழியர (526)

See Lexicon. III, 1676, For Tamil *kuṭumi*, "tuft of hair."

39. dureis — "Hum cambolim grosso, tapado como taboa, de que uzaõ os dureis."

(A Large cumbly, coverd like a board, used by the durais).

துத்துக்கம்பிளி (410)

See Lexicon, IV, 1985, for Tamil *turai*, "cheif, gentleman." Also HJ1, 103; HJ2, 325, s.v. "doray, durai," defined as South Indian equivalent of *Ṣāhib*, with Telugu *dora* and Tamil *turai* suggested as possible etyma. The Portuguese word, *durais*, is a plural from in Proença.

40. Fanaõ

"Fanaõ, ou moeda cõ falha." (Fanam, or coin with crack.)

இடைவெட்டு (112)

Proença 148, gives the plural *fanoens*; 216, *fanam*; and 495, *fanaõ* again. See Dalgado, I, 386, with derivation suggested from Tamil-Malayalam *panam*, "money," and ultimately from Sanskrit *pan*. See also HJ1, 265; HJ2, 348-349, s.v. "fanam" from Malayalam and Tamil *paṇam*, and ultimately from Sanskrit *paṇa*. Also Webster's 916, "fanam" where the suggestion is made that the English word came from Tamil probably through Arabic.

41. fula

"As folhas de fula de figueira..." (The leave of the fig tree flower.)

மடல் (141)

See Silva Rêgo, 127, for *fula*, a regional Portuguese variant of *folha*, "leaf," defined by Silva Rêgo as "flower and leaf" in the Portuguese of Malacca. See also under *padmam*.

42. gajam

"...ex ajam, ouelha, and gajam, elefante..." (from ajam, sheep, and gajam, elephant).

அசகசாநதாம (60)

This word is the romanisation of the Indian word for elephant. See the Rev. T. Graven: *The Royal Dictionary in Two Parts English and Hindustani and Hindustani and English.* (Lucknow, 1829), p. 157, s.v. gaj, "elephant." Also Malay gajah, "elephant."

43. Guru

"H. douto, item Guru." (Learned man, also guru).

ஆசசாரியன (64)

See also Proença, 222, See HJ1, 296; HJ2, 387, s.v. "gooroo"; Webster's 1117, "guru," from Hindustani *gurū,* Sanskrit *guru,* "teacher, venerrable one"; Shorter OED I, 813, "gooroo" or "guru." H. is for *Homem.*

44. Hari

"Hari, nome de Visnu..." (Hari, name of Vishnu.)

அரி (47)

This romanisation of the god's name is interesting for the presence of the purely orthographic <u>h</u>-.

45. jogues

"Huma seita de jogues, que andaõ totalmēte nùs." (A sect of yogis, who go about completely naked.)

நிருவாணதீஷை (191)

See HJ2, 461-464, s.v. "jogee"; Origins, 321; Subba Rao, 118; Webster's 2974, "yogi," from Hindustani *yogī,* derived from Sanskrit *Yogin,* "follower of *yoga.*" See Proença, 508, also. Jogues is a plural form in Portuguese.

46. lechois

See definition under *mainato.*

Lechois is a plural corresponding to Tamil *letçam,* (See Lexicon, vi, 3441, and also 3438, *lakṣam,* "lakh.") See HJ2,

500-501 s.v. "lack," defined as "one hundred thousand," but used for "ten thousand."

47. magânes

"Certa medida; cõtã 5 magânes. ou 5 e. meyo..." (A certain measure, they count five *magânes,* or 5 and one half.)

மாக்கால (138)

Maganes is a Portuguese plural form derived from Tamil *mākāṇi,* a measure (Lexicon, V, 3143.)

48. magarsa

"Huma erua, que nace entre as searas, as fas crecer, vulgò, magarsa." (An herb, which is born among the grain fields, it causes them to grow, vulgarly, magarsa.)

பல்லிபூடு (213)

See Lexicon, IV, 2529, for the Tamil *palli-p-pūṭu,* "a flowering parasitic plant."

49. mainato

"cẽ vezes, cẽ mil, cem lechois. item pano nouo, que a inda naõ foi ao mainato..." (One hundred times, a hundred thousands, a hundred lakhs. *also* new cloth, which has not yet gone to the washerman.)

கோடி (331)

See HJ1, 410; HJ2, 538, s.v. "mainato," derived from Tamil-Malayalam *mainātta,* "washerman," and Silva Rêgo 130.

50. Manga

"Manga, fruita." (Mango-fruit.)

மாம்பழம் (146)

See Dalgado, II, 27 s.v. *manga,* the fruit name, derived ultimately from Tamil *mānkāy.* See also HJ1, 423-424; HJ2, 553-555; Webster's, 1495; Origins,

377, s.v. "mango." HJ2 derives Portuguese *manga* from Malay *maṅga*, and the Malay term from Tamil.

51. Mangueira — "Mangueira, aruore." (Mango tree.)
மாமரம் *(145)*
See *Manga*, the fruit name.

52. maniagares — See under *Beliguim* for definition. Dalgado, II, 32, has *maniagar*, "chefe de aldeia," derived from Tamil *manykkāran* (sic). See also HJ2, 576–577, s.v. "monegar," derived from Tamil maniyakkaran, "overseer," *maniyam*, "superintendence."

53. maracais — "Medida, que contem 2 maracais." (Measure containing two marcals.)
பதக்கு *(209)*
See Proença 277; also *marcàs*, 336, and *marcas*, 412. Dalgado, II, 50, gives *mercar*, derived from Tamil *marakkāl*; II, 572, *marca*. See also HJ1, 434; HJ2, 567, s.v. "mercall, marcal"; Webster's 1537, "mercal." *Maracais* is a plural form, as are *marcas* and *marcàs*, treated analagously to other Portuguese nouns ending in *-l* in the singular.

54. Marraua — "Marraua, casta." (Maravar, caste.)
மறவன் *(140)*
This is the caste name, Maravars in English, as given on page 583 of V. Visvanatha Pillai's *A Tamil-English Dictionary* (Madras 7th edition, 1963.)

55. matsam — "Sinal no corpo, item o ouro, q̃ serve de forma de quĩtales, item peixe, tunc gr. se debet pernunciare matsam." (Sign on the body, also the gold which serves as a sort of hundredweight, also fish, which is to be pronunced *matsam*.)

மச்சம் *(128)*

The romanisation of this word is given primarily to help the Portuguese consulter of the dictionary with the pronunciation of the medial consonants.

56. Matsariam — "Matsariam, odio." (Matsariam, hatred.)

மாச்சரியம் *(144)*

The romanisation of this word for "hatred" is primarily to help the Portuguese consulter in pronunciation, as in the case of "*matsam.*"

57. Mereí (?), perhaps Meru.

"Mereí, casta de ueado." (Mereí (?), type of stag.)

மரை *(139)*

This word may be a representation of *marai,* Tamil word for "Indian elk." (Lexicon, VI, 3097).

58. Mordexim — "Mordexim." (cholera.)

நீர்பாடு *(193)*

See HJ1, 449–452; HJ2, 586, 589, for "moat-de-chien," derived from Portuguese *mordexim,* which comes from Konkani-Mahrati *moḍachí, moḍshī* or *moḍwashī,* "cholera."

59. Mungo — "Mungo, legume." (Moongo, legume.)

மொங்கு *(153)*

See HJ2, 580, "moong, moongo," derived from Hindustani *mung,* "green-gram." Also Lexicon, VI, 3315, for the Tamil word *mūṅku,* "green-gram, chick pea."

60. Murunga — "Murunga, aruore." (Murunga, tree.)

முருங்கை *(163)*

The fruit of the same name is given

by Proença, 164. The Portuguese romanisation follows closely Tamil *muruṅkai*, "horse-radish tree," (Lexicon, VI, 3280). See also Shorter OED, I, 1288, "moringa," meaning "the ben-nut tree," and Webster's, 1594, "moringa," given as a New Latin word from Tamil *muruṅgai* or Sinhalese *muruṅgā*.

61. mutrar

"Celo-mutra ... mutrar, item sinete, aliquando virginale claustum." (Seal-mutra ... mutrar, *also* signet, sometimes an enclosure of virgins (?)

முத்திரை *(167)*

See V. Visvanatha Pillai's *A Tamil-English Dictionary* (Madras, 7th edition, 1963), p. 604, for the Tamil word for "seal, signet" reflected in the Portuguese forms *mutra* and *mutrar*.

62. nachinim, ẽ sattiemanga.

"Hum genero de milho nachinim, ẽ sattiemanga. Iaõ he palaura desonesta, ẽ assi a esta chamaõ ராகி" (A type of grain nachinim, in Sattiemanga (?) It is (not ?) and indecent word, and so they call the latter raggy.)

கெப்பை *(315)*

The word defined is Tamil *kēppai* (Lexicon, II, 1094) and the Tamil word inserted in the definition is *ragi*. For *ragi*, see HJ2, 753, "raggy," Webster's 2054, "raggee." The first exoticism corresponds to Tamil *naccini*, "ragi," (Lexicon, IV, 2129.)

63. Nele

"Nele mal pilado." (Ill pounded nelly.)

முழுநெல *(162)*

This word, also spelled *nelle* and *nela*, is frequent in Proença: 230, 257, 258,

266, 273, 293, 294, 300, 309, 310, 327, 332, 346, 370, 413, 421, 453, 521. See Dalgado, II, 104, who derives it from Dravidian *nel, nella;* HJ1, 477; HJ2, 623, "nelly, nele," with derivation from Malayalam *nel,* "rice in the husk" (Telugu and Tamil *nelli,* "rice-like").

64. Nibacti

"Nibacti, sertesa." (Nibacti, certainty.)

நிபத்தி (186)

This is the romanisation of the Tamil word, meaning "certainty."

65. niley

"Huma taboa q̃ fica entre o niley de sima." (A board which stays within the top door frame.)

குரியபபலகை (538)

The Tamil etymon of *niley* is *nilai,* "door frame," (Lexicon, IV, 2229).

66. ola

"Hum modo de capello, ou de palha, ou ola, ou can bulim, que poẽ na cabeca por amor da chuua." (A type of hat, either of straw, or ollah, or cumbly, which they put on the head for the sake of the rain.)

கொங்கணி (329)

See HJ1, 485; HJ2, 636, "ollah," derived from Tamil *ōlai,* Malayalam *ōla,* "a palm-leaf." See also Webster's, 1699, "olla," from Malayalam *ōla.*

67. Padmam

"Padmam, fula de tanque." (Padmam, pond flower).

மதுமம (210)

This is the romanisation of Tamil *padmam,* "lotus," (Lexicon, IV, 2467). See also *fula,* illustrated in the definition.

68. pagode

"pezo de hum pagode, ou S. thome." (coin of one pagoda, or San Tome.)

ஒரு விராகனிடை (112)

This is an instance of *pagode*, "coin," similar to the one quoted in HJ1, 501; HJ2, 637: "I think well to order and decree that the pagodes which come from without shall not be current unless they be of forty and three points (assay?) conformable to the first issue, which is called *of Agra*, and which is of the same value as that of the *San Tomes*, which were issued in its likeness." (From *Edict of the King*, in *Archiv. Port. Orient.* iii, 782, dated 1597, as given in HJ1, and HJ2) See under *xatroens*, for a use of *pogode*, in another meaning. See Webster's, 1753, s. v. "pagoda" for derivation of Portuguese *pagode* from Tamil *pagavadi*, from Sanskrit *bhagavāti*, "deity, goddess." For "San Thome," see Webster's, 2214, where it is defined as "the gold coin of Portuguese India...." Note that the equation of *pagode* with *San Thome* occurs in Proença as well as in the quotation cited from HJ1 and HJ2.

69. Palastry

"Palastri, M. Publica." (Palastri, public woman.)

பலஸ்தறி (212)

The Portuguese word is the romanisation of the Tamil word defined; M. is the abbreviation of *Molher*, "woman."

70. paloens

"Premio, item peso. 200 huma arroba, seis paloens huma ratel, na costa." (Prize, *also* weight. 200 = one arroba, six palams = one rotel, on the coast.)

பலம (212)

This is a plural form of *palam*, the

Tamil word for a weight. (Lexicon, IV, 2534.) See Webster's, 1910, "pollam," with derivation from Tamil *palam*, from Sanskrit *pala*. See also Proença, 426.

71. paniara

" Hum modo de paniara." (A type of cake.)

ஓப்படை (203)

This may represent Tamil *paniyāram*, "cakes, pastry." (Lexicon, IV, 2460). The word defined may be connected with Tamil *appam*, "cake" (Lexicon, I, 85.)

72. Pao angelim

" Pao angelim." (Anjely wood.)

ஆயனி (66)

This is Portuguese for "anjeylwood derived in HJ1, 21; HJ2, 30, from Tamil *anjili-maram* or *anjali-maram*, described as "wood of great value on the western coast. *Maram* is Tamil for " wood." See also Wesbster's 101, " angili wood," from Tamil *ānjili*.

73. pao da China

" Huma mesinha como pao da china..." (A small board like China-wood.)

அரகசை (46)

This is " china-wood " or china-root " (HJ1, 153, 419; HJ2, 199), known in Portuguese as *raiz de China or pao de China*, according to the OED, II, 351.

74. Parangui

" Assĩ chamaõ a os Portuguezes." Thus they call the Portuguese).

பறங்கி (225)

See HJ1, 269–270; HJ2, 352–354, " Firinghee," especially the statement: " In South India the Tamil *P'arangi*, the Singhalese Parangi, mean only ' Portuguese' ". This is not really an

example of a Portuguese word used in a definition, but this evidence that the term was used of them is of interest. The Tamil word defined is *Paraṅgi*.

75. Parauás

"A casta dos Parauás." (The caste of the Paravars.)

பரம (219)

See Proença, 221, . *parauà*, and *parauá*, See Lexicon, IV, 2503, where *paravar* is defined as "fisherman."

76. Paris

"Certa medida contem 4 paris." (A certain measure contains four parahs.

திருவாழிக்கால (395)

See also Proença, 441. See HJ1, 35-36; HJ2, 47-48, s.v. "bahar," with connection suggested with Arabic bahār, Malayalam *bhāram*, from Sanskrit *Bhara*. See also Webster's 1771, s.v. "parah, para, parrah," derived from Malayalam *para*, "drum," a measure. Portuguese *paris* is a plural form.

77. patola

"Humas fruitas compridas, como cobras pera cosinharp, atola (sic)"
"Some long fruits, like snakes, for cooking, gourd)

புடலங்காய (272)

This is an instance of "patola," in the meaning of "type of gourd." There is another "patola," (see HJ2, 686, "patola") meaning "a silk-cloth," and derived from Kanarese and Malayalam *paṭṭuda*, "a silk-cloth." Schuchardt, 57, refers to Sanskrit *patola* and Malay *petola*, as the name of a gourd. He refers to Rumphius, V, 405, for the connection between the plant and the

cloth. His statement about the use of *petola* by the Portuguese in reference to the plant is interesting: "Die Portugiesen gebrauchten auch in Vorderindien petola von der Pflanze, doch bieten es in dieser Bedeutung die Wörterücher nicht." See also Webster's 1792, where "patola" as gourd name is derived from Tagalog. It seems likely that "patola" of the Philippines ultimately may be connected with Into-Portuguese *patola*.

78. Pinga

"Pinga de a carretar," (Pinga for carrying loads.)

காவடி (311)

See also Proença. 311, 374. See C. E. Luard's translation of *Travels of Sebastian Manrique* (*Oxford*, 1927), II, 129, for discussion of *pinga* as possibly being a variant of Indian *bahangi* (*bangy*). There is a Filipinism, *pingga*, "carrying pole," attributed by E. Arsenio Mannuel, *Chinese Elements in the Tagalog Language* (Manila, 1948), 44, to Hokkien *pín tan*, cognate with Mandarin *pien*[3] *tan*[1] and Cantonese *pín táam*. Dalgado, II, 214, gives *pinga* with Malay *pungah* as possible etymon; for *pungah*, we should perhaps substitute Malay *punggah*, "taking up a thing and setting it down elsewhere." Both Portuguese and Spanish *pinga* have been referred to the family of words represented by a Latin *pendicare*, etc., with the basic meaning of "to hang." Perhaps *pinga*, like *patola*, is a Filipinism connected with Indo-Portuguese, but the specific etymon is still doubtful. A connection with *pendicare* may provide the solution.

79. Pradama — "Pradama: cousa primeira, principal." (Pradama: first, main thing.)

பிறதம (249)

This word is the romanisation of the Tamil one defined, *piratama*. "beginning." See Lexicon, V, 2674: *piratamam*.

80. Rajo — "H. de casta chatim que he a treceira casta em dignidade, a primeira bramane, a seguda Rajo." (Man of the chetty caste which is the third caste in dignity the first being Brahmin, the second Rajo.)

வைசியன (457)

This is Tamil *rāju*. "A Telugu caste who, being *kṣatriyas* style themselves Rādzu." (Lexicon, VI, 3427.)

81. ratel — See under *paloens*.

See HJ1, 582; HJ2, 770, "rottle, rattel," derived from Arabic *raṭl* or *riṭl*, the Arabian pound, Portuguese *arratel*. See also Websters, 2172, "rotl"; OED, VIII, 808, "rotel," etc.

82. saniazes — "Instituto, item lugar, em que moraõ saniazes," (Institute, also place, in which sannyasis live.)

ஆச்சறமம (64)

See also Proença, 141. This word is plural as given here, from Tamil *caṉṉiyāci*, "one who has abandoned or renounced worldly affairs, religious mendicant." (Lexicon, III, 1346) See also HJ2, 871–872, "sunyasee," from Sanskrit *sannyāsī*, literally, "one who resigns," and Webster's, 2214, "sannyasi," etc. derived from Hindi *sannyāsī*, from Sanskrit *Saṁnyāsin*, "abandoning."

83. Sura — "Sura." (Sura.)

லொடடி (128)

See also Proença, 130, 143, 366. This is the "vinous liquor" of HJ1, 663–664; HJ2, 874, derived *from* Sanskrit *sura.* See Webster's, 2536, s.v. "sura," derived from Sanskrit *surā.*

84. tale

"Pano, que daõ os maridos as molheres quando the amarraõ o tale, item absolute pano." (Cloth, which husbands give wives when they fasten the talee on them, *also absolutely* cloth.)

கூறை (348)

See Dalgado, II, 343, *tale,* derived by him from Tamil-Malayalam *tāli.* See HJ1, 678: HJ2, 891–892, s.v. "talee," defined as "A small trinket of gold which is fastened by a string round the neck of a married woman in S. India. Possibly connected with Arabic *tahlīl*... the origin of Spanish *tali,* a "baldrick" or "bride's betrothal band." See Webster's II, 2572, "tali," with etymology given as Kanarese and Tamil *tālī.* Perhaps there should be mentioned also Malay *tali,* "rope, cord, string, line." It would not be impossible for the trinket to be confused with the string to which it is attached.

85. Tamul

"a lingoa, Tamul." (The language, Tamil.)

தமிழ, தமுழ (373)

This is the Portugese form of the name of the Tamil language. On the same page is an entry for the Tamil man "H. (*homem*) *Tamul.*"

86. Tanjaor

"a moeda que corre no Reyno de Tanjaor." (the coin which is used in the kingdom of Tanjore.)

சககாம (495)

For the place name, "Tanjore," see HJ1, 683; HJ2, 898.

87. Tayro — "Tayro" (tyre).

தயிர (370)

The Portuguese word is based on the Tamil word defined: "curds; tyre," (Lexicon, III, 1759). See also OED, XI, 564, "tyre, tyer," derived from Tamil *tayir*, "...curdled milk and cream beginning to sour." See also Webster's 2588, "tayir, tayer, tyre," and HJ2, 950, s.v. "tyre," were Tamil and Malayalam *tayir* are given as origin.

88. tindilim — "Huma aruoresinha, que da huma fruita, q̃ na india chamaõ tindilim." (A small tree, which gives a fruit, which in India they call tindilim.)

கொவவை (334)

The Tamil plant is the *Cephalandra indica*; the word defined is the *kōvai* or *kovvai* (Lexicon, III, 1199 and 1159.) See G. Watt, *A Dictionary of the Economic Products of India* (Calcutta, 1889), II, 252, for such terms for the plant as *tendli, tondali* in Marathi, *tendli* and *tenduli* in Bombay.

89. tone — See definition under *Caicol*.

Tone corresponds to "doney, dhoney" HJ2, 323, defined as "a small native vessel," and derived from Tamil *tōṇi*.

90. Topàs — "Topàs interprete homẽ que sabe falar duas linguas." (Topas, interpreter, man who knows how to speak two languages.)

துவிபபாஷி (84)

See Dalgado, I, 371, *dubaxi*, derived

from Marathi-Konkani *dūbhaxhī*; Soares, 346–349, who mentions Tamil *tuppasi*, and describes the word as an early Portuguese corruption through Malayalam *tôpâshî* of Indian *dubhâshî* (Sanskrit *dvibhâshi*, "one with two languages.") See also HJ1, 711–712; HJ2, 933-934, s.v. "topax, topass." Also Webster's, 2669, "topass," from Portuguese *topaz*, "of obscure origin."

91. urraca

"Vinho, comprehēde urraca, sura, e outros semelhantes, donde naõ sòmente incōuenientemente, mas impropriamente se aplica este nome a o uinho de missas." (Wine, it comprises arrack, sura, and other similar ones, whence not only unsuitably, but improperly this name is applied to the wine for the mass.)

மது (130)

See also *sura*. *Urraca* is a spelling given among others: *araca, arraca, orraca*, by Dalgado, I, 49. He derives the word from Arabic. See also HJ1, 26–27; HJ2, 36–37, s.v. "arrack" or "rack," with similar derivation from Arabic '*arak*,' "perspiration." See Webster's, 152, "arrack," from Arabic '*araq*.'

92. Visnaga

"o Reyno de Visnaga." (The Kingdom of Bisnagar.)

விசனகாம (479)

See HJ1, 73; HJ2, 97, s.v. "Bisnagar," etc., for this place name.

93. Visnu

"Hari, nome de Visnu ..." (Hari, name of Vishnu.)

See Shorter OED, 2363, for this name of Vishnu, "a principal Hindu deity;

the name comes from Sanskrit and means 'all-pervader' or 'worker.'"

94. Xareta

"Xareta, a metade do coco uazio." (Xareta, half of the empty coconut.)

சிறட்டை (529)

This word is from Tamil *ciraṭṭai* (Lexicon, III, 1454) or *ciraṭṭai* (Lexicon, III, 1426) meaning "coconut shell; the hard shell of the coconut." See also Dalgado, I, 264, with spellings *charêta, cherêta, chirêta,* defined as "casca dura do coco," with derivation from Tamil-Malayalam *chiraṭṭa.*

95. xatroens

"Casa apartada para cosinha, nos pagodes, e xatroens." (House set apart for cooking in the pagodas and rest-houses.)

மடபபளளி (142)

This is Tamil *cattiram,* "choultry, rest-house" (Lexicon, III, 1252) See also HJ1, 163; HJ2, 211–212, s.v. "choultry,", which is described as "of doubtful etymology," but with mention made of Malayalam *chawāṭī* and Telugu *chāwaḍi.* Webster's 477, derives "choultry" from Marathi *cāvḍī.* For the Portuguese plural form *xatroens,* Tamil *cattiram* seems closer than the others; the Portuguese singular form would be *xatrão.* Note that here *pagodes* has the meaning of "temples."

96. Xiuen

"Xiuen." (Siva)

அரன (45)

See also Proença 45, *Ziuem:* 47, *Xiuan.* See Shorter OED, II, 1904, for reference to "Siva," the "third deity of the Hindu triad," derived from Sanskrit, *Śiva,* "the auspicious one."

97. Xutres — "Apud Xutres significa as partes secretas, modestè." (Among the Sudras it means the private parts, *modestly*)
அபிமானம் (22)
See Shorter OED, II, 2070, s.v. "Sudra" meaning "a member of the lowest of the four great Hindu castes." See also Webster's 2519 with derivation from Sanskrit *śūdra*. See also Proença, 101.

98. yattiam — "Huma bebida de eruas amargozas no sacrifficio yattiam." (A drink of bitter herbs at the yattiam sacrifice).
சோமபானம் (363)
The word defined is Tamil *cōma-pāṉam*, "drinking of the Sōma beverage at the Sōma sacrifice." (Lexicon III, 672). There may be a connection with "yati," meaning "an ascetic, devotee," derived from Sanskrit (Webster's 2967), or with Tamil *yāttirai*, "festival, dance." (Lexicon, VI, 3399).

99. Yucti — "Yucti, engêho, conserto, item rezaõ, que se dâ." (Yucti, plan, agreement, *also* reason, which is given).
யுக்தி (121)
This is a romanisation of Tamil *yukti* (Lexicon, VI, 3408) or *yutti* (Lexicon, VI, 3409), meaning "plan, artifice," etc.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dalgado — S. R. Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático* (Coimbra, 1919, 1921), 2 vols.

HJ1 — Colonel Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: Being a Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms; Etymological, Historical, Geographical, and Discursive* (London, 1886)

HJ2 — Colonel Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive*, new ed. edited by William Crooke (London, 1903)

Lexicon — *Tamil Lexicon*, in 6 volumes and 1 supplement (University of Madras, 1936 and 1939)

OED — Oxford English Dictionary.

Origins — Eric Partridge, *Origins, A Short Etymological Dictionary of Modern English* (London, 1958)

Schuchardt — Hugo Schuchardt, "Über das Malaioportugiesische von Batavia und Tugu," *Kreolische Studien*, IX, in the *Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Classe*, XII (Vienna, 1891)

Shorter OED — *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles* prepared by William Little, H.W. Fowler, J. Coulson, revised and edited by C. T. Onions (Oxford, 2nd edition, 1939 reprint), 2 vols.

Silva Rêgo — Dr. Padre António da Silva Rêgo, *Dialecto português de Malaca* (Lisbon, 1942.)

Soares — Anthony Xavier Soares, *Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages* (Baroda, 1936), a translation from S. R. Dalgado's *Influência do vocabulário português em línguas asiáticas* (Coimbra, 1913)

Subba Rao — G. Subba Rao, *Indian Words in English* (Oxford, 1954)

Webster's — Webster's *New International Dictionary of the English Language* (London, Springfield, Massachusetts, 1936, 2nd edition), 2 vols.

WICKI JOSEPH, *Documenta Indica.* Vol. II, Document 64, 16. Rome, 1950 in series Monumenta, Historica Societatis Iesa.

See THANI NAYAGAM, XAVIER S. *The First Books printed in Tamil.* in *Tamil Culture,* Vol. IV, 1956. pp.

Brief sketches of the literary works of these missionaries may be had in PERERA, S.G., The Jesuits in Ceylon, Nobili Press, Madura, 1941.

MYDELCOTT, *St. Thomas the Apostle of India.*

TAMIL LEXICON - Introduction.

Tamil Folk Drama in Ceylon

S. VITHIANANTHAN

Sociological study of early communities in various parts of the world, has clearly revealed the important part played by folk-arts in the social life of these communities. They served not merely a recreational or aesthetic purpose but were integrally related with all the aspects of social life and a living and dynamic expression of the manifold sides of that life. They were not consciously or deliberately created by any person or persons to serve a specific purpose but grew out of the social life itself, changing and evolving as the social life itself changed and evolved. All the important aspects of group life and its major occasions found communal expression through these folk arts and all its customs and manners and phases of institutional life were reflected in them. The folk arts of any society thus serve as a mirror, clearly reflecting the dynamic aspects and living significance of that society and as such are of fundamental importance to the understanding of that society.

The Tamils of Ceylon have a rich heritage of folk arts, especially of folk drama. A study of the Ceylon Tamil Folk Drama clearly reveals the part played by folk drama in the social life of the Tamils. Folk Drama which was once a vital element in the community life of the Tamil people, seems today to be on the eve of extinction. Our social surroundings are so much revolutionised during the last century, that a number of old social institutions have lost much of their social value. Under the colonial regime it has been the fashion with the educated to condemn everything that savoured indigenous. Folk Drama offers perhaps the best illustration. It is in a moribund condition primarily because it has been denied the social status, it once enjoyed, by the sophisticated society of today.

A comparative study of the Tamil Folk play with the Sinhalese Folk play reveals that the Tamils and Sinhalese possess a common heritage in Drama and Music. One of the Sinhalese dramatic traditions is certainly taken directly over from the Tamil Folk Drama—this is what is called the Sinhalese Nadagama. The earliest Nadagamas were translated into Sinhalese from Tamil originals, though later works drew their themes from sources nearer home. The language of the early Nadagamas also shows considerable Tamil influence—in fact their language is a peculiar mixture of Sinhalese and Tamil words. The verses are in Tamil metre, the common metres used being Viruttam, Innisai, Kalippa, Kavi, Kochchakam, Venpa and *Parani*. *Mostly all the* melodies are of South Indian origin but Sinhalese singers dropped the Tamil intonation and method of voice production when they sang them. The original Tamil tunes must have undergone slight changes and absorbed something of the genius of the people in the hands of the Sinhalese musicians and poets.

It is therefore clear that the Sinhalese and Tamils have a common heritage in Drama and a comparative study of the Folk Drama of the Tamils and Sinhalese will draw the two communities together more closer. It is also important that in a country like Ceylon, which has been under foreign domination for a number of centuries, we should try to rediscover our traditions, especially because there has been a general tendency to neglect the existing dramatic traditions. The folk tradition did not appeal to the intelligentsia and, as a result, the intelligentsia of modern times have more or less concluded that the Tamils have no dramatic tradition worth talking about, that the new dramatic tradition has to be built on the basis of the Western play. This is a mistaken idea, because the existing dramatic tradition is a folk tradition—though not in a refined state—and its conventions and styles have not been so obvious to people. Moreover, modern play, with stage, lighting devices, curtains, sets and decor fascinated the people and created the impression that type of play was real theatre. For, in the Tamil Nattukuttu,

the Folk play, there is no decor, no sets, no furniture, no change of scenes. The Nattukuttu is usually performed in a circular mandapam; the floor is raised from the ground level by means of earth or sand. The audience sits on the bare ground outside the mandapam round the circumference. Two people hold a piece of cloth (as a curtain) as each actor enters the stage from behind. The actor remains standing behind this cloth while the Annavi, the presenter, introduces him to the audience. After this introduction the cloth is removed and the actor enters into full view of the audience.

All actors enter in this manner and come in dancing as they are introduced. They move in a circle or move round about half the circumference and finally dance up towards the audience. The Annavi stands with the musicians and the chorus close to the entrance. Often the Annavi stands in the centre of the Mandapam and goes behind the actors playing the drum. The lighting is done with the help of torches. There are two chief varieties of Folk Drama, the Ten Modi or Southern type and the Vada Modi or Northern type. Mostly episodes from North Indian Literature are enacted in the Vada Modi style; the Ten Modi style is used generally for South Indian and indigenous themes. Besides the difference in theme, these two types are also distinguished by the type of music they employ, by the dress and by the dance.

When the educated people saw this type of play, they thought that this was primitive; that a real play was to have sets, decor, chairs and tables, curtains etc. This notion is quite wrong, because in Folk Drama they did not have sets, scenes etc., as the conventions were made in such a way as to do away with those things. Change of scenes and actions are indicated by abhinaya or by other techniques. For example, chariot fight, picking of flowers, watering of plants, etc., are portrayed by miming or indicative gestures and by music.

A fight on the modern stage would be represented by actual fighting and bleeding would be shown by using red

ink. These are all unnecessary and unnatural in folk drama. In Karnan Por, which was presentd by the Peradeniya University Tamil Society in 1962, chariot drive was indicated by imitative gestures, by dance and by indicative music. Those who have seen this play agree that this was done quite well. The change of scenes are generally indicated by the Annavi by his songs. He supplies the imaginative background for understanding what is taking place. The actors also dance round to show change of scene. In art form people have to exercise their imagination. The more one exercises one's imagination, the more one appreciates art.

Imagination is the essence of an art form. People do not come to see a real fight or a real journey across the river. They come to see drama and that is where again a redefinition of the concept of drama, is necessary. The Sinhalese and Tamil word for drama is Nadagam, the root meaning of which is dancing. The Tamil conception of drama is primarily as a dance. This is evident in such idioms as nadagam adinan (நாடகம் ஆடினன்) Kuttu adinan (கூத்து ஆடினன்) —he danced a play. The word adinan (ஆடினன்) gives not only the meaning of acting but also of rhythm—the representation of the whole action through rhythmic motion. Though the English word 'drama' also goes back to the meaning 'dance', yet in the European Theatre now acting is distinct from dancing. But this is not so in Tamil Theatre. Tamil conventions still remain closely connected to dance.

It is a mistake to think that the ancient dramatic forms are dance dramas, and that the only dramas are the modern dialogue plays where people come and sit on chairs and drink tea—that this type of drama is the only drama. The essence of drama consists in rhythmic movement, in representing a thing in rhythm. This is a definition of drama which one must not lose sight of. It is a kind of drama which is connected with the entire cultural pattern of the Tamils and should not be lost sight of. The Tamils are heirs to a symbolic theatre and that is pure theatre. It is a pity if people think it is primitive, that it is a comical dance,—

Konankikkuttu (கோணங்கிக்கூத்து) as an 'admirer of drama' (நாடகாபிமானி) put it and that the other is real drama.

Even in Europe the tendency now is to get back to the idea of Pure Theatre. They have begun to realise more and more that naturalism in the Theatre is something which has been stolen away by the film. With the film as an art form, there is no need for naturalisation in the Theatre because film can do that much better. In the theatre one can bring all sorts of gadgets on to the stage, but one cannot convince the people very much as one can in a film. So why should one bring these gadgets on the stage? Symbols can be used. The province of the theatre and the province of the film are clearly different. That is why now more and more in Europe and America there is a tendency towards symbolism, a tendency towards stylization and the use of music and dance movements.

Of course the defect in Tamil Drama as well as in Sinhalese Drama and in the Films has been that these have not been combined in an artistic way. For example the folk plays in Batticaloa last for about ten hours. After two or three hours, while the performance is on, people go out for dinner or short eats. By that time only one Act would have been covered. Besides, when a star actor comes on the stage, some of the minor actors go for a drink, come back after some hours, and then start acting again. When they start acting some people in the audience go out to have a bite or a chew. They come back when the next major actor comes on the stage. Very often the songs are not clear because the voice of the actor is drowned by the singing of the chorus or of the Annavi. In most of these folk dramas now the costumes are mostly crude and not properly designed.

So the defect has been that these elements of dance, song, costumes, lighting etc. have not been combined into an artistic unit with the dramatic element as the predominant one. If the dramatic element is made the predominant feature, then music, dancing, poetry etc. can always be made use of to make the dramatic experience richer. And there

is no reason why these things cannot be made use of in the theatre because these are primarily theatrical arts and the theatre has always been nourished by these subsidiary arts, when used in the right way.

The fault in Tamil folk drama has been that these have been used indiscriminately so that the real dramatic element fades into the background. People come to listen to the song or to see the dance and not to follow the play. If one studies the craft of the Folk Drama more artistically and evolves out of the elements existing in the Folk Drama the techniques and conventions necessary for modern theatre, then one would have worked out the basis on which the Tamil Theatre can be built.

And to do this one should first set out to bring out fully the dramatic potentialities of the folk drama. As it is seen today, acting has no important place in folk drama. It should be realised that the dances and songs are only aids to the expressions of the character. Because of the musical structure of the dances, many actors tend to take the dance in the folk drama as an end in itself. Adequate steps should be taken to make dance a way of expression. In Karnan Por, a Vada Modi folk play presented by the University Tamil Society in 1962, the producer tried to interpret the dance movements as ways of expressions of the different characters. The response of the audience revealed the full dramatic potentialities of the dance movements. One should not run away with the impression that this will result in sacrificing dance movement for acting. What is necessary is a combination of acting with dancing.

Karnan Por also showed that the use of folk musical instruments would brighten the effect of the play. Along with the mattalam (drum), Sallari (tala), Sanku (Conch), tunthana (துந்தனை) etc., can very well be used. Effective use of orchestra can enliven those movements where dancing alone is done.

The folk drama because of its essential relationship with the lower and the lowest strata of society has necessarily been

practised in isolation. In Tamil Society where the differences between the English educated middle class and the peasantry had been so wide, the arts produced by the peasantry too had been viewed with cynical aloofness. With an emerging transition in society, this gulf naturally becomes smaller. But every precaution should be taken to integrate this art form into the framework of this society.

The task ahead is, therefore, one of assimilation and interpretation rather than imitation. Schools can play a leading role in initiating the young children into this art. Developing folk drama at that level would help the coming generation to take up this art form as an intergral part of their culture and not as a museum piece. Therefore the role of the Education Department is a very important and responsible one. Annual competitions may be a sure incentive for more productions.

At the adult level every effort should be taken to popularise this form and popularisation demands adaptation of modern methods. Make up is one department where the old should definitely give place to the new. Costumes should be elegantly designed so as not to hamper the movement. Shortening the duration is another essential factor. Deft handling of lighting will increase the dramatic effect of the play. The successful production of Karnan Por has proved convincingly that with modern make-up and careful handling of lights one can make the folk plays irresistible in their appeal.

But this is not enough. The people who have long forgotten their cultural heritage should also be educated. Radio, the most popular form of entertainment, should be used to the utmost to achieve this purpose. The present practice of relegating and confining the nattukkuttus to the Rural programme should be given up and a more positive approach should be adopted. Radio can perform the useful function of recording the traditional folk dramas and broadcasting them as standard ones. The technical details of dance and music can very well be explained over the Radio.

Every effort should be made to build a good library of folk recordings. The useful services rendered by the former Tamil Drama Panel of the Arts Council of Ceylon in arranging such recordings and broadcasting them, should be continued.

More enterprising and imaginative producers should take new themes for presentation. Folk drama today is essentially religious and puranic in its theme. It does not touch on the needs of the present society. A change in theme is essential. It is only with such a change that the drama would have some meaning to the actor and the audience. First step in this direction may be interpretative production. Themes depicting the struggle of native heroes against the imperialists may be well exploited at the start and later present day themes can very well be executed in this drama. The course that is discernibly seen in the development of the Sinhalese Theatre should be of some guidance to the Tamil producer.

It is also high time that the lovers of Folk Arts revived the Folk Lore Society of Ceylon which is now defunct. It should be possible to achieve something positive in the field of Folk Drama if there is an active Folk Lore Society.

A Phonological and Morphological Study of a Tamil Plakkaat

S. THANANJAYARAJASINGHAM.

During the Dutch rule of Ceylon (1658–1796), the central and local governments issued proclamations, publications and orders which had to be obeyed and observed by the general public. Dutch publications of this type where called "plakkaats". These plakkaats were issued in Dutch, Sinhalese and Tamil. They were not only read and proclaimed at public places but also nailed at important places for the information of the public. This is the reason why few plakkaats have survived today. Some of the plakkaats issued by the Dutch government in Tamil are preserved in the Ceylon Government Archives and the earliest of them is dated 6th August 1742 and till this time all plakkaats were written by hand.

The following is the text of a plakkaat that was issued in the time of Governor, Petrus Vuyst. The plakkaat is dated 17th May—June 1727 and the place of issue is the Colombo Fort.

1. ஈநதியாவில ஆலொசனைககு எஸததிர ஓடுதிஞரியவும இலஙகைததீவுககுமதறகுச சொநத தலஙகளுககும
2. கொவெறினதொருந திரெஃதொருமாகிய பெததுருஸ பொயிஸததவாகளும அவருடைய ஆலொசனைத தலைவ மாரும
3. இதைக காணகிற அலலது வாசிககிறதைக கெடகிற சகல மான பொகளுககும ஆரொககியமாக அறியபபணணுகிற தாவது
4. இநத இலஙகையிலெ கொபபி யுணடுபணணுதலிபபொ கொஞசக காலததிலெநினறு பலபல சமப(வி)பபுககளிஞ

லெயும பராபரிபபிலலாததினாலெயு மெததவுநதெவையா யிருககிற கொபபியுணடாககுதல

5. உததமகொமபஞ்ஞீயவுககுங குடியானவாகளுககு மிளபப மாக ஒருமிககத தானெபிறகிடடு (ப) பொறதை நாஙகள மனசசலிப்புடனெ கணடிருககிறொம ஆகையினாலெ உததம கொமபஞ்ஞீயவுககு மிகவுந

6. தெவையாக இநத இலஙகையிலெ யுணடுபணணின கொபபிமரஙகளை பிடுஙகுணடு பாழாயபபொ(க)ாதபடிககு 1721 ஆணடு ஆவணி மி முதறதிகதியிலெ யிநதக கொபபியுணடாககுதலைக கொணடு பிறசிதத

7. மாககின கடடளைபபததிரததைச சில வெறறிமைபணணி மறுபடி இதைககொணடு புதுபபுககிறொ(ம)

8. இதறகுமெலிநத அரசாடசிககுககீழான உததம கொம பஞ்ஞீகயவிற பணிவிடைகாறரெனகிலும வீ(வு)ருகாற ரெனகிலும நாடுபிறஙகளிற தலைவமாரென்கிலுங குடியான வாகள மறறும பொகளெனகிலுந தஙகள தஙகள

9. தொடடஙகளிலெயாவது தஙகள கீழாகயிருககிற கொம பஞ்ஞீயவிற தொடடகளிலெயாவது இதறகுமெலவரவருக குக கையாளிககபபொற நிலஙகளிலெயாவது மறறுந தொடடஙகளிலெயாவது

10. உணடாயிருககிற கொபமபிரஙகள பெரிசானாலுஞ சிறிதானா லும யாதொரு சமபவிபபினாலெ(ப)படுபபொறதைத தவிரப பிடுஙகியானாலுந தறிததானாலுங கொபபுககளைப பாழாககப படாது

11. அநதபபடடுபபொன மரஙகள முதலாக இனன விதததி னாலெ படடுபபொசசெனகிற காரணமெங(க)ளுககானாலு மிநத வெலைககு முகாமையாக இனிமெற பிறசிததமாகக கறபிககபபொற பெருககானாலுமொபபனை

12. யுடனெ யுறியபபணணி யுததாரம பெறுமலெடுத்துப் பொடடபபடாதெனறும மிகவும் ஊச(சி)தமாகக கடடளை பணணுகிறொம

13. உததம கொமபஞ்ஞீயவிற பணிவிடைகாறரெனகிலுமிதற கெதிரியாகச செயதவாகளிடததிலெ முநதினமுறைககு இறையாலுககு அறுபது துடடாகத தலைககு நூறிறையா லும இரணடாவது முறைககு

14. இரட்டியும மூனறுவது முறைககு மூனறுபஙகுந தெணடம
வாஙகி அநதக காரியததினபடியெ கடினமா(ன) ஆககினை
யும பணணபபடும வாஙகின தெணடததிலெ பாதி பிசுக
காலவாகளுக்கு மறறபபாதி பிசசைககாறருககுமாயிருககும

15. இவடததிலெ பிறநதவாகளாஙுலுங குடியானவாகளாஙு
லுந தஙகளதஙகளுடைய அலலது மற்றவாக(ளு)டைய
தொட்டஙகளிலெனகிலுங கொபபிககனறுகளையலலது மரங
களைப பிடுஙகவும வெட்டிபபொட்டவும

16. பாழாககவுந துணிகரமுளள பொகளொபபனையுடனெ
யகபபட்டாலலாகளுடைய தலைமையும பெரிமை சிறிமையும
பாராமல முநதினமுறைககு அடிதது 10 வருஷததைகதம
இரணடாவது

17. முறைககு அடிதது முதநிரைச சூடுஞசுட்டுக காதுமூககு
மறுதது விலஙகுமபொட்டு 25 வருஷததை(க)கும காவு
தெவொஏஸபபிருநசலிலெ கொமபஞஞீபவில வெலைசெய
யபபொடுகிறதறியவும

18. மூனறுவது முறை யகபபட்டாலக கழுததிலெ கயிறுபொட்டு
மரணபரியநதம ஆககினை பணணபபடும

19. இதலலாமலுங கொழுமபு காலி மாததுறையிலெ தலைமைச
செயகிற பொகளுககும மறறுஞ சிறியதலைவ(மா)ா சகல
குடியானவாகளுககும ஆனிலெ இததனையொனறு கொபபி
யுணடாககுமபடி நியமிதது 1720

20. ஆணடு அறபசி மி யள மிகவும விளககமாகப பிறசிததம
பணணின கட்டளைபபததிரததின கணககின(படி)யெ
உணடாககாதபடியிஙுலெ ஆணடு புரட்டாதி மி முதறதிகதி
யிலெயு முணடுபணணின கட்டளை

21. பததரதிதிலெயு மிதுகாரியததைககொணடு பிறசிததம
பணணியிருககுது

22. இநதக கொபபியுணடாககுதலிலெ யவரவறகுக குறிததிருக
கிற கணககினபடி வெணுமெனற மா(த)திரமதிககப
படுததுகிறதுககு மறுபடி கறபிககுநதனையுமெலாலெ குறித
திருககிற கட்டளைபபததிரததின

23. படியே சகலமுந தனதன சகல தெணடிபபிஙுலும நமபிக
கையிஙுலும பாதுகாதது நீழிககபண(ணு)கிறது எங

களுககு வெணுமாயிருககிறபடியாலக கடடளைபணணு கிறொம

24. 1720 ஆணடிலெயெ இதுபபடட கடடளைபபததிரததின வகைகள பாததுககொளள வெ(ணு)மாகுல இஙகெ செககடதெரியவிலெ வநதெழுதிககொணடு அதினபடி செயயவும அதினபடிசெய

25. யாமலத தஙகள தஙகள முடடாடடஙகளினுலெ பாதுகாப பும பராமரிபபுமிலாமறபாழ . . . பபொகபபணணினவாகள கடூரமான முனிவுககுளளானவாகள

26. ஆகையினுலெ இபபொது புதுபபிககபபடட இநதக கடடளைபபததிரததிலெ யெழுதுபபடட காரியஙகளிலெ சறறுகிலுங குறைபாடிலலாமலநதநதத தலததில முதலாளி மாராலெயுந

27. தினசமாா பிசுககாலமாராலெயும இநதக கொபபிவெலைக கடுததிருககிற சகலராலெயும (இ)நத வெலைககு இனிமெற கறபிககபபொற முதலாளியாலெயுமிகுநத பராபரிபபுடனெ பாதது நீழிககப

28. பணணுகிறதுமலமாம விதறகெதிரியாகச செயத பொகளை • யாதொரு சகாய உபகாரஙகளுககாக கணடுஙகாணுதது பொலெ யிராமல உடனெதான ஞாயங கரையெறறவு மிதுகாரியஙகளை நனறுகப

29. பராபரிததுப பாதுகாககவுங கறபிதது இவையெலலாம உததம கொமபஞஞீயவுடையவும நலல குடியானவாகளு டையவும நனமைபபகுதிககு நலலதெனறு கணடபடியால இபபடிக

30. கடடளை பணணினெம

31. இநதபபடி எழுதி ஸததாபிததது: 1727: ஆணடு: வைகாசி: மி: 17: திகதி: கொழுமபிற கொடடையிலெ:

A. PHONOLOGY

Distribution of Sounds in the Initial Position

The variations from the rules in Nannūl are starred They are the developments after the Nannūl period.

Vowels	**Examples**
a	anta
ā	ākaiyiṉālē
i	inta
ī	īntiyavil
u	uttāram
ū	ūrc(ci)tam
e	eḷuti
ē	ēṟṟavum
o	oppaṉaiyuṭaṉē

Consonants

k with a, ā, i, u, ē, ai, o, ō,	*c with a, i, u ū, e, ē*
kaṭṭaḷai	cakalamum
kāṉkiṟa	ciṟiya
kīḷ	cuṭṭu
kuṟittirukkiṟa	cūṭum
kēṭkiṟa	ceykiṟa
kaiyāḷikka	cērnta
koḷumpu	*ñ with ā*
kōppi	ñāyam
t with a, ā, i, ī, u, e, ē, ō	*n with a, ā, i, i, u*
taāṅkaḷ	nallatu
tāṉē	nāṅkaḷ
ticaimār	niyamittu
tīvukku	nīḷikka
tuṭṭu	nūṟu
teṉṭam	
tēvai	
tōṭṭaṅkaḷilē	
p with a, ā, i, u, e, ē, ō	*m with a, ā, i, u, ū, e, ē*
parāparippu	maṟṟa
pātukāttu	mātturaiyilē
piṭuṅki	mikunta
putuppikkiṟōm	mutal
perimai	mūṉṟu
pērknḷukkum	mettavum
pōṭṭu	mēlālē
y with ā	*l with ī*

yātu *li(vu)rukārar

v with a, ā, i, e, ē, ai

vantu
vācikkiṟatai
vitattiṉālē
veṭṭippōṭa
vēlaikku
vaikāci

Initial Cluster of Three Consonants

*sttāpittatu

Medial Cluster of Two Consonants

kk	kaṟpikka	yk	ceykiṟa
ṅk	ilaṅkaiylē	yt	ceyta
cc	piccaikkāṟarukkum	yy	ceyyāmal
ñc	koñcam	rk	pērkaḷai
ññ	kompaññīya	ll	ellām
ṭk	kēṭkiṟr	ḷḷ	koḷḷa
ṭc	aracāṭcikku	ṟk	itaṟku
ṭṭ	kaṭṭalai	ṟp	kaṟpittu
ṇk	kāṇkiṟa	ṟṟ	vēṟṟimai
ṇṭ	teṇṭippu	ṉk	eṉkilum
ṇṇ	paṇṇiṉōm	ṉm	naṉmai
tt	talattil	ṉp	atiṉpaṭi
nt	piṟantavarkaḷ	ṉṟ	kaṉṟukaḷai
pp	ippaṭi	ṉṉ	iṉṉa
mp	nampikkai	*kt	tirekṭōrum

Medial Cluster of Three Consonants

rcc	ūrc(ci)tam
rnt	cērnta
*spp	esppiṟāñcavilē
*stt	esttira oṭutiṉṉāriyavum

Distribution of Sounds in the Final Position

Consonants

*t – poyist
m – viḷakkam

y - āy
r - ticaimār
l - uṇṭākkutal
ḻ - kīḻ
ḷ - maraṅkaḷ
ṉ - taṉ
*s - petturus

Vowel-Consonants

-a
k - kaiyāḷikka
ṭ - pōṭa
ṇ - paṇṇa
t - inta
y - aṟiya
r - tavira
l - nalla
ḷ - koḷḷa
ṟ - irukkiṟa
ṉ - muntiṉa
-u
k - itaṟku
c - pōccu
ṭ - nāṭu
t - poṭukiṟtu
p - parāparippu
r - oru
ṟ - eṉṟu
-ai
k - nampikkai
t - pattirattai
m - vēṟṟimai
l - vēlai
r - muttirai
v - tēvai
ḷ - kaṭṭaḷai
ṟ - muṟai
ṉ - ālōcaṉai

-i
k - vāṅki
c - aṟpaci
ṭ - maṟupaṭi
ṇ - āvaṇi
t - tikati
p - kōppi
r - etiri
l - kāli

-ē
k - iṅkē
y - āṇṭilēlē
ḷ - kāriyaṅkaḷilē
ṉ - tāṉē

-ō
p - ippō

Sound Change

Vowels

a > u — mātara > māttuṟai

The modern Sinhalese name for Māttuṟai is Mātara. The latter must have been derived from the Tamil "māttuṟai" meaning "great seaport". Therefore this is not a case of a change.

a > e — The central vowel 'a' following a Sanskrit voiced plosive in the initial syllable becomes the front mid unrounded vowel 'e' in Tamil

d, taṇṭam > teṇṭam
taṇṭippu > teṇṭippu

ai > a — aippaci > aṟpaci

This is expressed by the concept of aikārakkuṟukkam and is according to literary language and grammar.

i > a|ṭa — ivviṭattilē > ivaṭattilē

The front high unrounded vowel 'i' becomes influenced by the vowel 'a' after 'ṭ'. One of the cluster of two voiced labio dental fricatives is lost.

ṟ, r] u [m > i — The back high rounded vowel 'u' between r, ṟ and m becomes the front high unrounded vowel 'i' in the following instances.

vēṟṟumai > vēṟṟimai
perumai > perimai
ciṟumai > ciṟimai
puṟaṅkaḷ > piṟaṅkaḷ

-kiṟatu > kutu — In akṟiṇai singular finite verbs, -kiṟatu > kutu.
irukkiṟatu > irukkutu

-ki- > Ø — pōkiṟa > pōṟa

The present tense morpheme kiṟ > iṟ > ṟ in the colloquial dialect.

i] t > c — The dental plosive 't' is palatalised into a palatal stop 'c' when following a palatal front

high unrounded vowel 'i'.

peritu > pericu

r > ṟ The Sanskrit /-kāra/ which has become a masculine termination for certain nouns in Tamil is pronounced as /-kāṟa/ in the following instances.

līvurukārar > lī(vu)rukāṟar
piccaikkārar > piccaikkāṟar
paṇiviṭaikārar > paṇiviṭaikāṟar

r > Ø In the colloquial dialect r is lost more often after geminated plosives.

pātttu > pāttu
talaivarmār > talaivamār

-ḻutu > Ø ippoḻutu > ippō

ippoḻutu > ippōtu > ippō in course of time in the spoken dialect. The form ippōtu is also found.

iḻṟṟ > cc The geminated alveolar trill when following a palatal front high unrounded vowel 'i' becomes geminated palatal stop.

pōyiṟṟu > pōccu

-ṇṭu- > ṇu vēṇtum > vēṇum

The retroflex stop in a cluster of retroflex nasal and stop is lost.

In the combination of words, the final phoneme 'l' in a previous word changes into 'ṟ' when followed by a word beginning with a plosive. But in this plakkaat there are instances to show that the colloquial pronounciation of doubling the plosive of the second part of the compound is followed.

akappaṭṭālk kaḻuttilē (line, 18)
vēṇumāyirukkiṟapaṭiyālk kaṭṭaḷai (line, 23)
ceyyāmalt taṅkaḷ (line, 24-25)

Rules of Tamilisation

When foreign words are borrowed, they are adapted to the phonemic system of the Tamil language. The Sounds in other languages are rendered by the nearest phonemic shape in the Tamil language. Most of the changes are necessitated by the fact that there are no corresponding sounds in Tamil.

Rules of Tamilisation as laid down by Pavananti with reference to Sanskrit words which arè found extended to other foreign words as being applicable to them.

Medially kh > k in Other Foreign Words

mukhaiyam > mukāmai

Initially Sanskrit g > k in Tamil

gaṇaka > kaṇakku

Other Foreign Words

governador > kōvēṟiṉatōr

Medially Sanskrit j > c in Tamil

ūrjita > ūrc(ci)tam

Medially Sanskrit th > ṭ in Tamil

kaṭhōra > kaṭūram
kaṭhina > kaṭiṉam

Initially and Medially Sanskrit d > t in Tamil

dēśa > ticai
daṇḍ > teṇṭi
taṇḍa > teṇṭam
dvīpa > tīva
mudrā > muttirai
pra-siddha > piṟacittam

Other Foreign Words

duit > tuṭṭu
directeur > tirekṭōr
governador > kōvēṟiṉatōr

Medially Sanskrit dh > t in Tamil

adhika > atikam
pra-siddha > piṛacittam
vidhā > vitam

Initially Sanskrit bh > p in Tamil

bhikṣā > piccai

Medially Sanskrit h > k in Tamil

sahāya > cakāyam

Initially and Medially Sanskrit s > c in Tamil

sa-kala > cakalam
sahāya > cakāyam
pra-siddha > piṛacittam

Other Foreign Words

secretariat > cekkaṭattēriya

Medially Sanskrit š > c in Tamil

dēša > ticai

Finally Sanskrit ā > ai in Tamil

mudrā > muttirai
bhikṣā > piccai
laṅkā > ilaṅkai
vidhā > vitam

Prothetic Vowel i

laṅka > ilaṅkai
real > iṛaiyāl

Absence of Prothetic Vowel

sthāpi > sttāpi

Other Foreign Word

livro > lī(vu)ru

Vowels i and ī to break Initial Clusters

dv > dīv	dvīpa > tīvu
pr > piṛ	pra-siddha > piṛacittam

Vowel i to break Medial Cluster

gy > kkiy	ā-rōgya > ārōkkiam
dr > ttir	mudrā > muttirai
tr > „	patra > pattiram
„ > „	mātra > māttiram
ry > riy	kārya > kāriyam
	paryanta > pariyantam
sk > cukk	fiskaal > picukkāḷ

Vowels i, u to break Medial Cluster Other Foreign Words

rn > ṟiṉ	governador > kōveṟiṉatōr
tr > ttur	petrus > petturus

Other Developments which have not been mentioned by any Tamil Grammarians

Initially Dutch v > p in Tamil

v is pronounced by the Dutch as f and it is such a pronunciation of v that has changed into p in Tamil.

vuyst > poyist

Initially and Medially the f of Dutch becomes p in Tamil

fiskaal > picukkāḷ
koffie > kōppi

B. MORPHOLOGY

Cases

In declension, the nouns take the following empty morphs which the grammarians call cāriyai

Empty Morpheme	Example
/-u/	pērkaḷukkum
/-iṉ/	campavippukkaḷiṉālēyum
/-aṉ/	ataṟku
/-attu/	talattil
/-attu/ + /-iṉ/	vitattiṉālē
/-attu/ + /-ai/	varuṣattiṉālē

Accusative Case /-ai/

The accusative is used in the plakkaat for "with reference to" or "in relation or pertaining to". In these places ai can be retained "koṇṭu" be replaced by "paṟṟi".

kōppiyuṇṭākkutalaikkoṇṭu piṟacittamāṉa
kaṭṭalaippattirattai (6-7)

for kōppiyuṇṭākkutalaippaṟṟi

In the following instance "koṇṭu" may be substituted by /-āl/ after removing /-ai/.

itaikkoṇṭu putuppikkiṟōm (7)
for itaṉāṟ putuppikkiṟōm

There are certain phrases here which are not idiomatic. It is a Tamil idiom to use the akṟiṇai words without any accusative case sign as the object except where there is ambiguity. But since the original plakkaat was in Dutch, this translation follows the original idiom and translates the accusative cases, *make all cases by using by using* the *Tamil. Tamil* accusative case sign /-ai/. as otherwise ambiguity may arise because of the new construction. As a result, the idiom of this translation looks foreign.

kōppikkaṉṟukaḷai yallatu maraṅkaḷaip piṭuṅkavum
veṭṭippōṭavum (15)

for kōppikkaṉṟukaḷ allatu maraṅkaḷ piṭuṅkavum
veṭṭippōṭavum

III Case

The third case signs are /-āl/and /-uṭaṉ/in this plakkaat. /-oṭu/ is recognised as the social case sign. But instead of /-oṭu/, /-uṭaṉ/ the so called collurupu alone appears. Let us take /-āl/ first into consideration. /-āl/ occurs in the instrumental ablative in the following instance.

mutalāḷimārālēyun ticaimār picukkālmārālēyum intak kōppivēlaikkaṭuttirukkiṟa cakalarālēyum (i)nta vēlaikku iṉimēṟ kaṟpikkappōṟa mutalāḷiyālēyu mikunta parāparippuṭaṉē pāttu niḷikkappaṇṇukiṟatum allāmal (26-28).

/-āl/ often occurs as ablative of reason meaning "because of".

palapala campavippukkaḷiṉālēyum parāparippillātatiṉālēyum mettavum tēvaiyāyirukkiṟa kōppiyuṇṭākkutal uttama

kompaññiyavukkuṅ kuṭiyāṉavarkaḷukkum iḷappamāka orumikkattāṉē piṟakiṭṭuppōṟatai? (4-5). We have a special form in "ākaiyṉāl" meaning "therefore" in which /-āl/ occurs. But here it has lost the original significance of a case morpheme and the whoe form is considered indeclinable.

/-uṭaṉ/ occurs in the following instances.

nāṅkal maṉaccalippuṭaṉē kaṇṭirukkiṟōm (5)

mutalāḷiyālēyu mikunta parāpariputaṉē pāttu (27)

pērkaḷ oppaṉaiyuṭaṉē yakappaṭṭāl (16)

The Dative Case /-ku/

The governmental orders are addressed to certain classes of people. Therefore the dative occurs in these cases. When plakkaats are issued, the persons to whom it is made is put in the dative.

koḷumpu kāli mātturaiyilē talamaic ceykiṟa pērkaḷukkum maṟṟuñ ciṟiya talaiva(mā)r cakala kuṭiyāṉavarkaḷukkum āḷilē ittaṉaiyeṉṟu kōppiyuṇṭākkumpaṭi niyamittu (19).

'For the sake of' is translated by putting the noun in the dative. In this instance the dative sign /-ku/ is combined with the collurupu /-āka/.

itaṟketiriyākac ceyta pērkaḷai yātoru cakāya upakāraṅkaḷukkāka kaṇṭuṅkāṇātatupōlē yirāmal (28)

Here is legal jargon for expressing punishment for the first time, second time, etc. First time, etc., are placed in the dative. The duration of the punishment is also put in the dative.

pērkaḷ oppaṉaiyuṭaṉē yakappaṭṭāl avarkaḷuṭaiya talaimaiyu perimai ciṟimaiyum pārāmal muntiṉamuṟaikku aṭittu 10. varuṣattaikkum iraṇṭāvatu muṟaikku atittu muttiraiccūṭuñ cuṭṭuk kātumūkkum aṟuttu vilaṅkum pōṭṭu 25 varuṣattaikkum kāvutevoesppiṟāñcavilē kompaññiyavil vēlaceyyappōṭukiṟatu aṟiyavum (16-17)

The Ablative Case

The ablative of motion is expressed by the expanded case sign "ilniṉṟu" in the following instance.

kōppi yuṇṭupaṇṇutal ippō koñcak kālattilēniṉṟu palapala campa(vi)ppukkaḷiṉālēyum parāparippu illātatiṉālēyu......... piṟakiṭṭu(p)pōṟatai (4-5).

The Genitive Case

The collurupu /-uṭaiya/ alone appears in the plakkaat. The old genitive case sign is -atu/. The analytic tendency replaced this particle by a word "uṭaiya". This has really become the case sign.
ivai yellām uttama kompaññīyavuṭaiyavum nalla kuṭiyāṉavarkaḷuṭaiyavum naṉmaippakutikku nallateṉṟu kaṇṭapaṭiyāl (29).

There is also an instance of the more ancient usage of the oblique form of the noun with the inflexion /-iṉ. This is according to Dr. Caldwell, an old genitive case sign.
kaṭṭaḷaippatirattiṉ vakaikaḷ pāttukkoḷḷavē(ṇu)māṉāl (24).

The Locative Case /-il/

The locative case sign /-il/ is often used in this plakkaat. What is expressed by the English preposition 'in' is translated by suffixing /-il/, the case sign of the locative to the noun governed by 'in' in English.

ilaṅkail (4, 6)	nilaṅkaḷil (9)
tōṭṭaṅkaḷil (9)	kompaññīyavil (9)
pattirattil (26)	cekkaṭattēriyavil (24)
kāriyaṅkaḷil (26)	talattil (26)

The phrase "so much per person" is translated by putting the person in the locative and adding "ittaṉaiyeṉṟu".
āḷilē ittaṉaiyeṉṟu kōppi yuṇṭākkumpaṭi (19)

/-iṭam/ + /-il

When the noun is epicene plural, the locative case sign is the expanded form "iṭattil" to mean "from them."
ceytavarkaḷiṭattilē (13)

Gender

Neuter Singular /-tu/

In this plakkaat, all the forms taking the neuter singular suffix /-tu/ are finite verbs. There are negative forms. The singular is used as an abstract verbal noun.

poṭukiṟa-tu (17) kāṇāta-tu (28)
paṇṇukiṟa-tu (23) illāta-tu (4)
vācikkiṟa-tu (3) piṟakiṭṭuppōṟa-tu (5)

Apart from these, there are real neuter nouns which show no difference between the singular and the plural for neuter in their morphological forms. They are called by grammarians as pālpakā akṟiṇaip peyarkaḷ.

kōppi (4) vilaṅku (17)
nāṭu (8) kyiṟu (18)
āṇṭu (20) muttirai (17)

Neuter Plural /-kaḷ/

The singular forms of neuter nouns are pluralised by the addition of the plural suffix /-kaḷ/. The ancient literary way of pluralising is to substitute the plural suffix for the singular.

talaṅkaḷ (1) kāriyaṅkaḷ (24)
piṟaṅkaḷ (8) vakaikaḷ (24)
tōṭṭaṅkaḷ (9) muṭṭāṭṭaṅkaḷ (25)
maraṅkaḷ (11) upakāraṅkaḷ (28)

If the word preceding /-kaḷ/ ends in what the grammarians call kuṟṟiyalukaram, the k doubles.

campa(vi)ppukkaḷ (4) koppukkaḷ (10)

Epicene Plural /-kaḷ/

Uyartiṇai words are pluralised with the suffix /-kaḷ/.

pērkaḷ (3, 8, 16)

Epicene Plural /-ar/

In the epicene, the plural suffix /-ar/ is substituted for /-aṉ/ in the ancient way.

avar (9) cakalar (27)

In the following instance, the epicene plural /-ar/ is used honorifically.

petturus poyisttavarkaḷum avaruṭaiya ālōcaṉait
talaivamārum (2)

Epicene Plural /-mār/

The epicene plural suffix /-mār/ is used in the following instances.

mutalāḷimār (26) ticaimār (27)
picukkāḷmār (27)

Epicene Plural /-kāṟar/

The singular of the suffix /-kāṟar/ will be /-kāraṉ/. If kār is isolated, aṉ will remain as the masculine suffix. In the plural /-ar/ is substituted for aṉ in the old way.

paṇiviṭaikāṟar (8, 13) piccaikkāṟar (14)
lī(vu)rukāṟar (8)

Double Plurals

There are forms in which there are two plural suffixes. That is because the form without the second is felt to be singular.

/-ar/ + /-kaḷ/

kuṭiyāṉavarkaḷ (5, 8) maṟṟavarkaḷ (15)
piṟantavarkaḷ (15) avarkaḷ
paṇṇiṉavarkaḷ (25)

/-ar/ + /-kaḷ/ is also used honorifically.

vāṅkiṉa teṇṭattilē pāti picukkālavarkaḷukku (14)

/-ar/ + /-mār/

talaivamār (2, 8, 19)

/-ār/ + /-kaḷ/

uḷḷāvārkaḷ (25)

Pronouns

Remote

av∼a is the base of the remote demonstrative pronoun. The remote 'av-' comes in the epicene with the plural suffixes /-ar + kaḷ/. It occurs in the genitive with the collurupu "uṭaiya"

avarkaḷ (14) avarkaḷuṭaiya (16)

"avar" occurs with the dative case sign. (avarukku, 9)
"avaṟ" is a mistaken alternant of the epicene plural "avar"

because of the r and ṟ falling together at least in this environment.

Coming to akṟiṇai, we have the form "atu" which loses the final vowel to take the empty morph /-aṉ/ when forming the dative. atu + aṉ + ku > ataṟku (1). The free form "anta" occurs as what may be called an adjective. The orthodox grammarians describe this form as an expansion of the demonstrative base.

Proximate

iv∼i is the base of the proximate demonstrative pronoun. The form "itu" appears with the second case sign. (itai, 3, 7). It also occurs with the dative sign /-ku/ in the same way as "atu". There are also cases where it appears without case signs. "ivai" which is the plural form of "itu" is found. The adjectival form "inta" occurs. The compound form "ivaṭam" is colloquial; the classical form is "ivviṭam".

Interrogative Pronoun

Yā is the base for the interrogative pronoun "yātu" which is found in the plakkaat.

Primary Pronouns

I Person

The plural suffix /-kaḷ/ affixed to the base "nām" to make the free form "nāṅkaḷ" is found. The oblique form of "yām" is "em" to which /-kaḷ/ is added to form "eṅkaḷ". This form appears in the dative. Here, these plural forms exclude the persons addressed.

III Person

"tan" is the bound form of the third person singular. This bound form is found reduplicated to mean "each one's respectively". The oblique of "tām" is "tam" and it again is pluralised with the suffix /-kaḷ/. There is an idiom for translating "their respective/noun". "taṅkaḷ" is repeated and these two are placed immediately before the noun.

taṅkaḷ taṅkaḷ tōṭṭaṅkaḷilēyāvatu (8-9) meaning "either in their respective plantations". This reduplicated form takes the genitive case in one instance.

Pronoun Denoting Place

Proximate

The base form in the proximate is i. We have the form "iṅku" with the particle 'e' as an expletive.

Pronoun of Totality

"ellām" appears in the plakkaat and it means "all, personal and impersonal".

Numerals

Cardinals

"oru" is a bound form. It appears in a compound form with the interrogative pronoun yātu. yatoru campavippiṉālē (10). Here is an instance of the new development of an idiom where "oru" ceasing to refer to number, has the meaning of "any [the noun used after it] whatsoever".

The free form for the numeral two is found in "iraṇṭu". The free form for the numeral three is "mūṉṟu" and it qualifies the noun "paṅku" in one instance.

"aṟu" is the bound form of the numeral "āṟu". "-patu", a contraction of "pattu", is added to "aru" to form "aṟupatu". It precedes "tuṭṭu".

The highest numeral to be found in the plakkaat is nūṟu which is a free form. It precedes the substantive "iṟaiyāl"

Ordinals

The ordinal for the numeral two and three is formed by adding /-avatu/.

iraṅṭāvatu (13, 16) mūṉṟāvatu (14, 18)

"mutal" is the ordinal form for one and is found to precede the substantive "tikati". (See line, 6).

Times of Number

We have one form "iraṭṭu" which occurs as a past conjunctive participle. It is derived from "iraṇṭu" in which the nasal is hardened to give the form "iraṭṭu" and to this form 'i' is suffixed.

Fraction

"pāti" means "half" and is derived from "pakuti" by the elision of the medial consonant and the lengthening of the vowel after the plosive p into ā.

Verbal Nouns

The plakkaat affords instances of the following types of verbal nouns :—

1. Lengthening of the vowel of the initial syllable of the verbal root in single and compound words.
   cuṭu > cūṭu (17)
   kuṟaipaṭu > kuṟaipāṭu (26)
2. The suffix /-am/ is added to the root.
   nil + am = nilam (9)
3. Doubling of the plosive when the preceding nasal is lost thereby and /-am/ is added.
   viḷaṅku > viḷakku + am = viḷakkam (20)
4. Doubling of the plosive when not preceded by a nasal plus /-am/.
   tōṭu > tōṭṭu + am = tōṭṭam (9)
   muṭṭāṭu > muṭṭāṭṭu + am = muṭṭāṭṭam (25)
5. Addition of Suffixes of Verbal nouns.

Suffix	Verbal Root	Verbal Noun
i	etir	etiri (13)
ai	vaku	vakai (24)
kai	nampu	nampikkai (23)
pu	campavi	campavippu (4)
	cali	calippu (5)
	taṇṭi	teṇṭippu (23)

	parāpari	parāparippu (4, 25)
	pātukā	pātukāppu (25)
tal	uṇṭākku	uṇṭākkutal (4)
	uṇṭupaṇṇu	uṇṭupaṇṇutal (4)
karam	tuṇi	tuṇikaram (16)

/-karam/ is borrowed from Sanskrit "kara".

The suffixes /-pu/ and /-am/ are added to the verbal root "iḷa" and thus we have the verbal noun "iḷappam" (5).

Past tense Conjunctive Participle

The conjunctive participle or the past verbal participle is formed in the following way:—

1. Reduplication of the final consonant of verbal themes which end in ṭu.

   cuṭu > cuṭṭu (17)
   pōtu > poṭṭu (17)

2. Suffixing some particle or sign of past time.

i	vāṅk-u + i	vāṅki (14)
	paṇṇ-u + i	paṇṇi (12)
	iraṭṭ-u + i	iraṭṭi (14)
	piṭuṅk-u + i	piṭuṅki (10)
	eḷut-u + i	eḷuti (31)
	tari-t-u	tarittu (10)
	aṭi-tt-u	aṭittu (17)
	pātukā-tt-u	pātukāttu (23)
	kuri-tt-u	kurittu (22)
	aṭu-tt-u	aṭuttu (27)
	parāpari-tt-u	parāparittu (29)
	niyami-tt-u	niyamittu (19)
	karpi-tt-u	karpittu (29)
	pā[r]-tt-u	pāttu (27)

eḷutikkoḷ + t + u > eḷutikkoṇṭu (25) Here the final ḷ > ṇ and the past tense morph t > ṭ.

eṉ + t + u > eṉṟu (23). The root is eṉ and the past tense sign is ṟ.

kāṇ > kaṇ+t+u > kaṇṭu (5). In this instance, t becomes ṭ after ṇ according to Sandhi rules.

The negative verbal participles are formed by the addition of āmal to the root.

pār + āmal > pārāmal (16)
iru + āmal > irāmal (28)
peṟu + āmal > peṟāmal (12)
cey + āmal > ceyyāmal (24-25)
al + āmal > allāmal (28)
il + āmal > illāmal (26)

Past Tense Relative Participle

The past tense relative participle suffix, /-a/ is added to the verbal past participle in all instances and the resulting forms are the past tense relative participles. In "ciṟiya", though the form of the past tense is used, the signification is aoristic or without reference to time.

ceytu + a > ceyta (28)
cērntu + a > cēranta (1)
vāṅki[ṉ] + a > vāṅkiṉa (14)
uṇṭupaṇṇ[ṉ] + a > uṇṭupaṇṇiṉa (20)
eṉṟu + a > eṉṟa (22)
kaṇṭu + a > kaṇṭa (29)
eḷutuppaṭṭu + a > eḷutuppaṭṭa (26)
paṭṭuppō[yi]ṉ + a > paṭṭuppōṉa (11)
putuppikkappaṭṭu + a > putuppikkappaṭṭa (26)

Present Tense Relative Participle

The present tense relative participle is formed by adding /-kiṟu/ to the root. In some instances, the ṟ alone remains of this /-kiṟu/ as in pōṟa. In the case of "irukkutu", the present tense sign stands as Ku.

cy-kiṟu + a > ceykiṟa (19)
kāṇ-kiṟu + a > kāṇkiṟa (3)
iru-kkiṟu + a > irukkiṟa (22)
kē [ḷ] root final loss] -ṭkiṟu + a > kēṭkiṟa (3)

The Participial Noun

The participial nouns are formed by adding the gender number suffixes to the relative participles. The glide v will come in between the relative participle /–a/ and the suffix, if the latter begins in a vowel.

Epicene — paṇṇiṉa-v-arkaḷ (25)
piṟanta-v-arkaḷ (15)
ceyta-v-arkaḷ (13)

Neuter Singular — atikappaṭuttukiṟa-tu (22)
paṇṇukiṟa-tu (23)
pōṭukiṟa-tu (17)
illāta-tu (4)
pōṟa-tu (5)
vācikkiṟa-tu (3)

Infinitive

The verbal participle of the pattern ceya is called the infinitive in Tamil. cey stands for the root and /–a/ is the suffix. The infinitive goes with the verb next following or the finite verb, as stating an action which follows that verb or finite verb, usually as something intended, so that it is substituted by ceytaṟku.

aṟiya (3)	pātukākka (29)
kaiyāḷikka (9)	kaṟpikka (27)
eṭuttuppōṭa (12)	paṇṇa (14)
piṭuṅka (15)	pāttukkoḷḷa (24)
veṭṭippōṭa (15)	pōka (25)
pāḷākka (10)	putuppikka (26)
ceyya (17)	karaiyēṟṟa (28)
niḷikka (23)	orumikka (5)

"uṇṭākkumpaṭi" occurs as one unit. It consists of a relative participle–pati. But the whole is substitutable by the infinitive "uṇṭākka".

Aorist form as Relative Participle

The old finite aorist was formed by adding -um to the root. The pattern is [representing any root as cey] ceyyum.

karpikkum (22) paṭum (18)
uṇṭākkum (19) vēṇum (24)

The Conditional

The conditional is expressed by adding /-āl/.

akappaṭṭāl (16, 18)
pāttukkoḷḷavēṇumāṉāl (24)

I Person verbs

The first person plural occurs as referring to the Governor and his advisory council when issuing the plakkaat. The finite verbs are formed on the pattern root + tense sign + gender number suffix.

Present Tense

kaṇṭirukkiṟōm (5) putuppikkiṟōm (7)
paṇṇukiṟōm (23)

Past Tense

paṇṇiṉōm (30)

III Person Verbs

Future

irukkum (14)

Past Tense

paṭṭuppōccu (11) sttāpittatu (31)

Viyaṅkōḷ

When the legal necessity for expressing the command as of universal application was felt, the old viyaṅkōḷ which was generally of the ceya type was not found sufficient because it was used as the infinitive. Therefore a suffix /-um/ was added to the ceya form.

aṟiya-v-um (17) ceyya-v-um (24)

Implied Finite Verbs

There are a few implied finite verbs such as nallatu (29), ciṟitu (10), pericu (10) and naṉṟu (28).

Adverbs

We have also adverbial constructions modifiying the verb. The noun with the verb -āka behaves like adverbs.

ūrc(ci)tamāka (12) naṉṟāka (28)
etiriyāka (13) tēvaiyāka (6)
iḷappamāka (5) mukāmaiyāka (11)

Adjectives

By the suffixing of /-āṉa/ to nouns, adjectival meaning is derived.

cakalamāṉa (3) kaṭūramāṉa (25)
kaṭiṉamā(ṉa) (14)

APPENDIX

Translation

This is proclaimed by Petrus Vuyst, Extraordinary Councillor of India and Governor and Director of the Island of Ceylon and its Dependencies and His Chief Councillors, for the welfare of all persons who either read or hear this being read out :—

We have been noticing with vexation the falling in standards and wasting away of the cultivation of coffee which is in great demand to the Honourable Company and its subjects in Ceylon, for some time in the past owing to many course of events and lack of maintenance. Therefore we hereby enact with a few alterations the proclamation forbidding the destroying or uprooting of coffee plants which are in great demand by the Honourable Company proclaimed on the first day of the month of August-September in the year 1721. No official of the Honourable Company which is under this government or Book-keepers or chiefs or subjects or others in the countryside should with the exception of

those that die off due to unforseeable circumstance, uproot, cut down or chop off the branches of coffee plants whether young or grown up cultivated in their plantations or in the plantations of the Company which are under their control or in the land to be given to them hereafter or in any other plantation. We strongly order that those dead plants should not be cleared off the ground without informing us or those to be instructed specially hereafter to supervise this work, with adequate proof of the causes that led to the death of the plants and obtain permission. Even if the officials of the Honourable Company violate this order, they would be made to pay one hundred reals per head, a real to be rated at sixty duits, on the first instance and double this amount on the second instance and treble this amount and severe punishment in accordance with the offence committed on the third instance. One half of the fine so obtained is for the Fiscal and the other half is for beggars. If persons who are born here or are subjects are caught for boldly uprooting, cutting down and destroying young or grown up coffee plants from their own plantations or from plantations belonging to others, they will be, without any consideration of their office, great or small, flogged and made to work for the Company for ten years on the first instance and on the second instance flogged, branded with the seal, clipped of their ears and noses, manacled and made to work for the Company for twentyfive years. If they are caught for the third time they will be tortured till death with rope tied round their neck. Moreover the chiefs in Colombo, Galle and Matara and other minor chiefs and all the subjects have not cultivated the required quota of coffee as laid down in the proclamation issued on the sixteenth day on the month of October-November in the year 1720 and therefore this is reiterated in the proclamation issued on the first day of the month of September-October in the year 1721. Since it is our desire that till they are instructed to step up the production of coffee to the level as required of each person, we order that all should by their own efforts and confidence protect and prolong as stated in the aforesaid proclamation. Those who wish to know the measures enforced by the

proclamation of 1720 can come to the Secretariat to copy them down and do accordingly. Those who instead of complying with the orders, through their stupidity do not afford protection and look after them, will be subject to our stern indignation. Therefore the chief, Dissave and the Fiscal and all entrusted with the cultivation of coffee and those who are to be instructed hereafter for this work should not only look after with good care and prolong but also should not pretend to be unaware of those who violate this order on account of any benefit or favours and also see that these rules are well enforced. We order thus since we consider all these as contributing to the welfare of the Honourable Company and its good subjects.

Thus it was enacted and issued from the Fort of Colombo on the seventeenth day of the month of May-June in the year 1727.

Glossary

Dutch

esttiraoṭutiṉāri This phrase is derived from Dutch "extra ordinaris" and means "extraordinary". It refers to the membership of the Governor in the Council of India in Batavia. An ordinary member of that Council, when he was present in Batavia, had the right to vote in council; the extraordinary member was allowed to attend meetings only but had no vote.

kōppi This word is derived from Dutch "koffie" and means "coffee".

kāvutevoesppiṟāñca The identity of this phrase is not known.

cekkaṭaṭṭēriya This means "secretariat" and is the Tamilised form of Dutch "secretariaat".

tuṭṭu The etymology of this word is traced to "duit" which was an old Dutch copper coin of which eight went to make a stuiver.

picukkāl This is derived from Dutch "fiskaal". Under the Dutch the Fiscal was an officer who in civil cases deliberated and voted as a judge, and in criminal cases was considered the public accuser. He also superintended the carrying out of the orders of the Government.

petturus poyist Petrus Vuyst was a Dutch Governor who ruled Ceylon from 1726-29 and this is a Tamilised form of his name.

Portuguese

iṟaiyāl The portuguese introduced a coin called "real" which was of the value of one shilling and six pence. This coin was in circulation in the time of the Dutch as evidenced by this plakkaat.

koppaññiya The Portuguese word for "company" is "companhia" and this is derived from it.

kōvēṟiṉatōr The origin of this word is traced to portuguese "governador" and it means "governor".

tirekṭōr This is another term from Portuguese "diretor" and it means "director".

līvurukāṟar This is derived from Portuguese "livro" plus Sanskrit -kāra. It literally means "Book keeper", the fourth grade in the Dutch Company's Civil Service.

Sanskrit

ticai "dēśa" in Sanskrit means "province" and hence the ruler of a province came to be called "ticai" which is a corruption of this Sanskrit word. It was a Sinhalese title for a Governor of a province, used by the Dutch in the maritime provinces for a high European official whose functions corresponded nearly to those of a Government Agent.

Book Reviews

SANSKRIT DRAMA: its origin and decline—by Indu Shekhar — pages I–XXVII + 224 — published at Leiden, Netherlands.

The problem of the origin of Sanskrit drama has engaged the attention of several scholars both in India and abroad for several decades. It cannot altogether be ruled out that there is a possibility of advancing a theory that fits in with one's attitude to any problem. Some scholars soaked in the belief of the Greek Contribution to World Culture found reasons to explain the influence of Greek drama on Sanskrit dramas. Others who would have no truck with anything foreign and who have a passionate belief in the Veda being the seedbed of every Art and Science that developed in India subsequently urged that the Vedas themselves contained germs of the Sanskrit drama. There is a popular fallacy shared by several learned people too, that what is found in the Veda or couched in Sanskrit is purely Aryan. This identity of Race and Language is a long discredited notion which is clung to by certain section of people even of opposite persuasion for their own reasons. They forget that man is after all a social animal and that fusions of races are the norm everywhere and that thought-streams mingle and find expression through several media, whether it be Language or Art.

The author of the book under review is Professor of Indology and Sanskrit, University of Teheran, Iran and belongs to a respectable family of the North famous for its traditional learning in Sanskrit. He has brought to bear on the problem of the origin and decline of Sanskrit drama a daring, original and fresh outlook which, it is hoped, will yield useful results. It is a very valuable addition to the existing literature on the subject. The author is quite conscious of the difficulty even for scholars to shake off a belief that becomes fixed in regard to problems of this kind. Such a belief exists even today among several of our brethren regarding Indian culture. The belief owes its origin to the

advocacy of early European scholars who glorified the role of the Aryans in the evolution of Indian culture. The author argues how the discovery of the Indus valley civilisation altered this image and scholars, among whom we may count S. K. Chatterjee, Gundert, Grierson and a host of others, began to acknowledge the contribution of Non-Aryans to Indian Culture.

The author discusses in this work the Aryan immigration and contact with the Indus valley people, the role of tantric traditions in the evolution of drama, the identity of Bharata, the author of Nāṭyaśāstra with some illustrious family of Non-Āryans, the dance and drama in Tamil literature, Siva, the Natarāja, cultural traditions in South-east Asia, the merits of some of the earlier dramas in Sanskrit by Śūdraka, the Andhra king and others, decadence of Sanskrit drama and its possible causes etc.

The author adduces several convincing arguments in support of his thesis that the primitive inhabitants influenced the speech, culture and literature of the Āryan conquerors and that the Tantra cult which recognises the importance of gestures as reflected in Bharata's Nātya-śāstra may have probably, originated in Non-Āryan circles. He draws our attention to the reference in Tolkappiyam to the emotions, the division of Tamil literature into Iyal, Iśai and Nāṭakam, the place of music and dance in Silappadhikaram and Manimekalai, the kuttū of Malabar, all of which point to the existence of a strong tradition about drama among the Dravidian people even during the pre-Christian era. Adverting to 'Rasa', the author observes that 'the conception of Rasa is a strikingly original contribution which rules out the possibilities of any foreign influence in the origin of Sanskrit drama'.

Against the Sanskrit dramatist who relied very largely on the twin Epics and to some extent on the folklore in choosing the plot of their dramas, he passes certain strictures not quite unjustifiably. But as in the case of poets in general, Sanskrit authors did not have much freedom to

venture into new grounds 'to introduce new life, new characters, new trends and situations which would have added to the vigour and appeal of the drama', as they were bound by the stereotyped manuals of dramaturgy and the norms of contemporary society where the Royal Court set the fashion and the elite frowned on fine arts.

The extensive bibliography containing names of original works in Sanskrit and modern languages and authors who number one hundred and twentyone whose works have been consulted by the author in bringing out this work, is an indication of the painstaking labour that has gone into the production of this work. Views of scholars like F. B. J. Kuiper, A. B. Keith, Levi, Konow, Winternitz, Gonda, S. K. Chatterjee, M. Varadarajan, Nilakanta Sastri and Ghosh, to mention a few of them, are laid under obligation by the author who is himself a Master of Oriental learning and Doctor of letters, in producing this pioneering work which deserves to be taken due note of by discerning scholars interested in Indology in general and Indian Dramaturgy in particular.

P. THIRUGNANASAMBANDHAM

SAKUNTALAI VENBA—By Sri. S. Natesa Pillai, Ramanathan Kazhagam, Sunnagam, Ceylon, 1963 — Price Rs. 2 - 50.

In accordance with one of the traditional ways of naming Tamil works, the book under notice, like Nalavenba and Akalikai Venba, is indicative of the main character of the poem as well as the prosodic type adopted in the work. The work contains 343 verses divided into four kandams dealing with the birth, the first phase of love, misery arising out of repudiation and final joyous reunion of Sakuntalai. The first section dealing with the birth of Sakuntalai is prefixed by the author to the main theme of Kalidasa's drama which is largely followed in this work. The author has rightly restricted himself in his poem of narrative type to the recounting of salient events relating to the main theme con-

cerning Dusyantan and Sakuntalai omitting the large number of descriptions of events, situations and characters allied to it, which are indeed indispensable in a drama where the aim of the poet is to develop the plot and delineate the characters and their emotions and feelings with a view to arouse aesthetic delectation in the minds of the responsive critics. The author has succeeded in capturing vividly, the spirit of Kalidasa's expressions in several places (verses 121, 131, 269 etc.) though it is a difficult task to achieve success in Tamil verses in Venba metre. At the same time several of his expressions reveal the deep influence exerted on him by the Tamil classicists like Tiruvalluvar, Kambar, Sekkilar and others (Verses 69, 72, 75 etc.). Tamil proverbs too find an appropriate place in verses 142, 212, 213, 270 etc. Ethics, Saiva Siddhanta and other philosophic concepts are also utilised in shedding new light on the context, in the same way as concepts of Vedanta, Vyakarana, Arthasastra etc. are done in Kalidasa's works. Following Kamban, he makes a veiled reference to Sir. P. Ramanathan—with an allusion in that very name to Sri. Rama, the Epic hero of Valmiki and Kamban—a great statesman and patron of letters and inspirer of the author. That this work is dedicated to the Goddess of Tamil is an index of his earnestness and devotion to the Tamil Muse. Even though the work was undertaken thirty years ago and has seen the light of the day to-day after a long chequered career we don't find discordant patches as we read through the poem. The words are simple and telling and at the same time ornate. Figures such as upama (v. 316), Ullekha (v. 73), Rupaka (v. 13) etc. embellish the work. He cuts new ground when drawing analogies from modern life (v. 83 and 307). We are at once reminded of Kalidasa and Pugazhendi when we peruse the poem. This is indeed yet another contribution of the author in fostering the spirit of integration between the Tamils and the Sanskritists, between the inhabitants of the Island and the Mainland, between the past and the present.

P. THIRUGNANASAMBANDHAM

News and Notes

TIRUVALLUVAR'S TEACHINGS

VICE-PRESIDENT'S APPEAL

Dr. Zakir Hussain, Vice-President, to-day expressed his wish that the words of Tiruvalluvar would "sink into the souls" of Indians living in different parts of the country so that they could work in amity and comradeship, pledging to defend its frontiers from aggressive threats.

The Vice-President, who unveiled a portrait of the saint in the Madras Legislative Assembly Chamber this evening, described him as an undisputed statesman who had laid down laws which were valid for all times and for all climes.

The Vice-President was proud that Tiruvalluvar was one of the greatest products of Indian culture. The saint's idealism, his philosophy, immense practical sense and universal ethical code had mingled into the main stream of Indian culture and had become part of the common cultural heritage of the people of India. He was one of the immortal poet-philosophers of India, who, by their personal idealism, purity of life and total dedication to the service of man and God, had fertilised the thought and moulded the outlook of generations of Indians.

On behalf of the members of the legislature, and particularly those belonging to the D.M.K., Mr. V. R. Nedunchezhian, Leader of the Opposition, presented a copy of the "Tirukkural" translated into English to the Vice-President.

Welcoming Dr. Zahir Hussain and others, Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam, Chief Minister, said "Tirukkural" was common to everyone and his words were applicable to all countries. This great work had laid down several dicta to be followed by men in their daily lives. Tiruvalluvar's teachings covered Statecraft, justice, social welfare, rights and duties of individuals, tenets of socialism and other vital subjects. The

work had been translated into 33 languages all over the world and there could not be a more fitting place for the portrait than the Legislative Assembly Chamber, where it would remain a constant guide to the members. Mr. Bhaktavasalam said the portrait was made out of the donations given by some of the members.

The Hindu, 24–3–64.

WHEN THE SOUTH LED

TRIBUTE IN SOVIET WORK

A Soviet scientist, Leonid Alaev, has written a book on the socio-economic history of South India covering the period XIV to XVIII centuries.

The book entitled "Southern India", just published by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, analyses the development of agriculture, crafts, the peasant community and the forms of land ownership in South India.

Tass said that the Soviet scholar drew on various sources for his work. The most valuable documents were certificates of gifts to temples and Brahmins during the period besides other inscriptions.

The Soviet scholar has stressed that during certain periods of Indian history "Southern India" was in the forefront of India's economic and political life. It was not correct, as some foreign Indologists had said, that it was always Northern India that took a leading role in the history of India.

The Hindu, 21–3–64.

Part II—AUTHOR INDEX

ZVELEBIL, KAMIL, DR.

Bharathi's Poems,
3, 3 & 4, 314-325.

The Present State of Dravidian Philology,
4, 1, 53-57.

Bharathi's Youth,
4, 2, 140-157.

A Czech Missionary of the 18th Century as Author of a Tamil Grammar,
4, 4, 337-340.

Verbal Noun in Early Old Tamil,
6, 2, 87-91.

Emphasis in Early Old Tamil.
6, 3, 226-234.

The Existence of Adverbs in Tamil,
8, 1, 44-50.

Dative in Early Old Tamil,
8, 1, 83-107.

ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE

(Continued from inside front cover)

OTHER MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNING COUNCIL

Mr. P. Alalasundaram Chettiar
" C. Amritaganesan
" Anbu Ganapathy
" S. Arumuga Mudaliar
" R. Balakrishnan
Rev. P. Ceyrac, S.J.
Mr. S. Chellaswamy
Dr. A. Chidambaranatha Chettiar
" V. A. Devasenapathi
Mr. M. M. Ghani
" W. Jayaraman
" S. Maharaja Pillai
" O. RM. M. SP. SV. M. Meyappa Chettiar
" C. A. Mohamed Ibrahim
" A. M. M. Murugappa Chettiar
Dr. B. Natarajan, M.L.A.
" K. K. Pillai
Mr. A. Palaniswamy
" V. P. Raman
" L. P. K. R. Ramanathan Chettiar
" S. Ramaswami Konar
" V. Shanmugasundaram
" T. K. Shanmugam
" A. Subbiah
" V. Subbiah Pillai
" P. M. Sundaram
" V. Sundaramurthi Mudaliar
" V. S. Thyagaraja Mudaliar
" P. Thirugnanasambandam

Statement about ownership and other particulars about Newspaper *TAMIL CULTUR* be published in the first issue every year after the last day of February.

FORM IV (See Rule 8)

1	Place of publication	...	Madras
2	Periodicity of its publication	....	Quarterly
3	Printer's Name	...	Rev. Fr. A. Anandu Lourdes
	Nationality	...	Indian
	Address	...	St. Joseph's Industrial School Press, Tiruchirappalli-1.
4	Publisher's Name	...	Mr. C. Amritaganesan
	Nationality	...	Indian
	Address	...	13|11, Jeremiah Road, Madras-7.
5	Editor's Name	...	Rev. Dr. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam
	Nationality	...	Ceylonese
	Address	...	University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.
6	Names and addresses of individuals who own the newspaper and partners or shareholders holding more than one per cent of the total capital	.	The Academy of Tamil Culture, MADRAS-7.

I, C. Amritaganesan, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to t[h]
[bes]t of my knowledge and belief.

[DA]TE: 1st April, 1964.

(Sd.) C. Amritaganesan
Signature of publishe[r]

Regd. No. R.N. 8253/57

TAMIL CULTURE

Subscriptions, advertisements, and remittances should be addressed to: The Hony. Treasurer, *Tamil Culture*, 13/11, Jeremiah Road, Madras-7.

Subscriptions are best remitted in the form of crossed Postal orders or cheques or Bank drafts *payable in India* drawn in favour of *Tamil Culture*. Cheques not drawn on a Bank in Madras should include the Bank's collecting commission of 50 paise. V. P. P. charges are extra.

Subscriptions and remittances may also be remitted to:

CEYLON: Individual subscribers may send P.O.s or M.O.s or Unesco Book coupons cashable in Madras.

MALAYA: Ensign Book Depot, 54, Pudu Road, Kuala Lumpur, Malaya.

Rates of Subscription (effective from 1963):

	India, Ceylon, Burma	Malaya	U. K.	U. S. A. & other countries
Annual	Rs. 10	M $ 10/-	Sh. 15	U. S. $ 2·50 or its equivalent
Single Copy	Rs. 3	M $ 3/-	Sh. 6	U. S. $ 0·75

As back numbers are usually sold out, we are unable to guarantee supply of back numbers to subscribers who send their subscriptions for any year after one or more issues for that year are published. In such cases we can supply only subsequent issues of the year at single copy rates. Subscribers are therefore requested to send their subscription, new or renewals, to reach us by 31st January.

Literary communications, Exchange, and Books for review should be addressed to the Chief Editor, *Tamil Culture* 13/11 Jeremiah Road, Vepery, Madras-7.

To secure their return, if not accepted, the Mss. offered for publication should be accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope. The Editor does not take any responsibility for Mss. that may be lost. Mss. should be typewritten and sent in duplicate to facilitate printing.

The expression of individual views by contributors or reviewers does not imply editorial endorsement.

Published by Mr. C. Amritaganesan for Academy of Tamil Culture, Madras-7 and Printed at
St. Joseph's Industrial School Press, Tiruchirappalli-1

Vol. XI, No. 3



JUL.—SEP. 1964

TAMIL CULTURE

JOURNAL OF THE ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE

CONTENTS

All Rights Reserved

TAMIL CULTURE

EDITORIAL BOARD:

Chief Editor:

REV. DR. XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM,
University of Malaya.

Joint Editor:

MR. A. SUBBIAH, Madras.

Asst. Editor:

MR. S. SINGARAVELU,
University of Malaya.

Members:

MR. C. AMRITAGANESAN, Madras.
MR. R. BALAKRISHNAN, District Educational Officer (Retired), Madras.
REV. P. CEYRAC, S.J., Loyola College, Madras.
DR. A. C. CHETTIAR, University of Madras.
MR. M. M. GHANI, Director, Regional Institute of English, Bangalore.
DR. K. K. PILLAI, University of Madras.
DR. V. I. SUBRAMANIAM, University of Kerala, Trivandrum.
MR. P. THIRUGNANASAMBANDAM, Presidency College, Madras.
MAHA VIDWAN M. V. VENUGOPALA PILLAI, Madras.

(The office-bearers of the Academy are ex-officio members of the Editorial Board)

ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE

OFFICE-BEARERS FOR 1963–64

President:

DR. M. VARADARAJAN

Vice-Presidents:

PROF. T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM
REV. DR. XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM
DR. KAMIL ZVELEBIL
MR. KARUMUTTU THIAGARAJAN CHETTIAR
RAO SAHIB N. MURUGESA MUDALIAR

Hony. Secretaries:

PROF. A. M. PARAMASIVANANDAM
DR. S. SHANKAR RAJU

Hony. Treasurers:

MR. S. M. PALANIAPPA CHETTIAR
MR. V. SUBBIAH PILLAI

(See inside page of back cover for names of other members of the Governing Council)

Vol. XI, No. 3 JUL.—SEPT. 1964

TAMIL CULTURE

JOURNAL OF THE ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE

CONTENTS

All Rights Reserved

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Mr. M. Ruthnaswamy, M.P., Council of States, Republic of India, and a former Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University, is a historian, and author of several books on Constitutional Law and Public Administration.

Dr. Arno Lehmann is Professor of Tamil at the Faculty of Theology, Martin-Luther University, Halle, Germany.

Mr. E. Sa. Visswanathan is Lecturer in Indian Studies, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.

Prof. S. Arumuga Mudaliar is Principal of Sri Palani-andavar College of Oriental Culture, Palani, South India.

Dr. S. A. Pillai is Visiting Assistant Professor of Linguistics, University of Chicago.

Mrs. Devapoopathy Nadarajah is Tutor in Indian Studies, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.

An Encyclopaedia of Tamil Culture

M. RUTHNASWAMY

Encyclopaedias or dictionaries of knowledge appear when there is a sufficient volume of knowledge to furnish material for such a work. The time has arrived for an Encyclopaedia of Tamil Culture as for a general dictionary of Indian antiquities. There is a sufficient volume of knowledge in all branches of Tamil culture to be gathered into an encyclopaedia. And such a handy reference book would be welcome not only to the Indian student and general reader, but more especially to the foreign seekers of knowledge about Tamil. In the interests of international publicity for Tamil such an encyclopaedia of Tamil culture is an urgent need.

What is it to contain? It must contain knowledge about Tamil culture in every aspect of it—the history, the mythology, religion, the philosophy, the folklore, the arts, the language and literature of the Tamil people. It goes without saying that to be useful and to command respect the knowledge must be authentic, scientifically obtained, accurate, and up-to-date. The first question to be settled is whether it should be done alphabetically, or in a series of articles on the several branches of Tamil culture, an article on its history, another on its literature and so on and so forth, all brought together and bound in one volume. This method although it may provide instruction would not be a book of easy reference. What the student or general reader especially in foreign countries would want is a work to which he can refer easily and quickly when he finds some Tamil place or king or god or saint or philosopher mentioned in books or articles about the Tamils and their country. It should therefore be an alphabetical encyclopaedia, but it would be helpful and useful if the encyclopaedia also contained compendious surveys of the chief cultural activities of the Tamil people.

To serve these two purposes it would be well if the encyclopaedia were divided into chapters on the history,

religion, philosophy, arts and sciences, each chapter being followed by a dictionary of names, persons, places, acts and activities pertaining to the subject of that chapter. The encyclopaedia will start off with a chapter on the geography of the Tamil country for a description of the land must be at the foundation of the knowledge of the people who have lived on it. And this geographical chapter would include a description of the flora and fauna of the country with explanations of the correspondence between ancient and modern names of the several species and individuals. And immediately after this geographical chapter should come the dictionary of places in Tamilnad—historical and modern, every place mentioned in Tamil literature with information as to what happened to it in the course of history. The places and persons mentioned in the dictionary would be only those occurring in Tamil literature with information about the corresponding places in modern times. The next chapter would be a history of the Tamil kingdoms followed by a dictionary of the names of all persons and places mentioned in Tamil history. And so on with the language, literature, folklore, arts and other activities of the Tamil people.

One question that remains to be settled is how far down in history should this Encyclopaedia of Tamil Culture come. As it is a reference book of Tamil culture and as Tamil culture has a continuous history down to modern times, all events and movements in which Tamilians have played a part must be mentioned and described. But it must be only the part played by Tamilians that would get a mention. In Muslim and British periods of Tamil history only the historical part played by Tamilians, active or passive, would get notice. Thus, for instance, the Land Revenue System under the Muslim and British rule would find a place. So also the part played by Tamil soldiers or regiments or statesmen in the Muslim and British periods of Tamil history.

This encyclopaedia of Tamil culture if it is to command respect and profitable sales must be well produced ; it must be entrusted to publishers who have had experience in publishing dictionaries and encyclopaedias like the Oxford University Press.

Karl Graul, the Nineteenth Century Dravidologist*

ARNO LEHMANN

Dr. Karl Graul, a German theologian and the first director of the Leipzig Mission (which took up the work of the old Tranquebar Mission founded by B. Ziegenbalg in 1706) was born on February 6th 1814 and died on November 10th 1864. In his rather short life he proved to be an outstanding man and scholar in different fields as was shown in an excellent Doctorate thesis on " 100 years of Graul-Interpretation " at the Martin-Luther University at Halle.[1] The surprising fact is that this man turned out also to be an indologist i.e. a dravidologist of high standing. This " also " is not to mean that a polypragmosyne-loving man also tried his hand at dravidology as an amateur. Rather this " also " is said in praise of his extraordinary linguistic gifts and his " encyclopaedic mind ".[2] Graul was not an amateurish worker : he was *the* German dravidologist of the last century, and he ranged beside and even ahead of such prominent men like Rhenius, Pope Drew, Caldwell and Jessen. To say that is not to make a panegyrical overstatement. To let him appear before us as a great man no jubilee-incense is needed : he was a great man and recognized as such in his time even by Chr. Lassen, M. Weber and his friend Max Muller.[3]

Also in India his name is known to well-informed people. Indian visitors to my house were simply excited when finding his works in my library, and often I get requests from India and Ceylon to supply Indian friends

---

* Summary of a lecture delivered at Dessau, Germany—D. D. R. on Feb. 6, 1964, the 150th birthday of Karl Graul.

1 Hundert Jahre Graul-Interpretation. Dissertation. Halle 1963.

2 O. G. Myklebust: *The study of missions in theol. education.* Vol. I, 93. Oslo 1955.

3 Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift 1917, 320. Bibliotheca Tamulica (henceforth: B. T.) II p. X.

with Graul's books. And it is at the request of the Editor of this journal that I rewrite my lecture from German into English as a contribution to "Tamil Culture".

It must be admitted that in common indological books the name of Graul is seldom or never to be found. That rather seems to be deplorable fate of all dravidologists, the reason being that Indology is Sanskrit-centered and thus one-sided. Richard Pischel gave just one sentence to Tamil literature "in the Indian languages of to-day": from the linguistic point of view it appeared to him to be of high value, but without any interest as to its contents. Ludwig Alsdorf in his book "*Deutsch-Indische Geistesbeziehungen*" (1942) leaves out the Tamil-translators altogether. And also Jan Gonda in his "*Die Religionen Indiens*"[4] (2 vol., Stuttgart 1960 and 1963) does not mention the name of Graul. Happily H.von Glasenapp figures as the welcome exception.[5] From what I hear it might well be that my lecture on "The German contribution to Tamil Studies" delivered at the XXV International Oriental Congress at Moscow in 1960[6] serves as a sort of eye-opener to some indologists and it is to be hoped that Dr. Charles Fabri's word proves to be true in the time to come: That the recognition that Tamil-literature is as important as the Sanskrit-literature is making progress.[7] It is to the credit of Karl Graul that he already in his time was quick to see the beauty and the importance of the Tamil language and the Tamil literature and that he gave himself to a bit of pioneering work in this field.

This is not the time to dwell at length upon the language and the literature of the Tamilians.[8] We merely recall that Tamil is a pre-aryan and a dravidian language and that

---

4 Vol. II, 3 and 4.

5 H.von Glasenapp: Das Indienbild deutscher Denker. Stuttgart 1960, 118.

6 The German contribution to Tamil Studies. "Tamil Culture", Vol. IX. No. 2, April-June 1961, 109-116. The German contribution in the field of dravidology. In: "Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai Silver Commemoration Volume 1961", Madras, 1961, 141-145.

7 Bulletin der Indischen Botschaft, Bonn. Vol. IX, Nr. 5, Mai 1959, 23.

8 Arno Lehmann: Die sivaitische Frömmigkeit der tamulischen Erbauungsliteratur. Berlin 1948, 31-35.

this literature, with regard to its quantity and importance, stands at the head of the 19 dravidian languages.[9] Of all spoken Indian languages, Tamil is the "most ancient"[10] and also the language of some 30 million people.[11] We have good reasons to follow Dr. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam when in his inaugural lecture at the University of Malaya he said that this living language and literature "have maintained an unbroken recorded continuity at least for the last twenty-three centuries".[12]

According to Winslow's Dictionary[13] the word Tamil does not only denote the language, but also nature, state, quality, melodiousness, pleasantness and even sweetness. Rightly does praise Subramanya Bharati (1882–1921) the name of his Tamilnad as being like honey to his ears, and his Tamil-language as being the sweetest of all languages he knows.

We do not know whether Graul could taste the sweetness of Tamil while learning it in the much lamented heat of South India seemingly, not being aware of Edison's saying, that genius is due to 10% of inspiration and 90% transpiration if not even 1 : 99.[14]

Graul was gifted for language-study. Of course he knew Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. After his enamination he went to Italy to teach children of a French family in the English medium. Asked whether he knew these languages he told his friend : "Would I go if I knew them ?" Well, he became the translator of a portion of Dante's *Divina Comedia*, and he mastered the English idiom so well that even within a few minutes in an Indian forest he was able to write an English poem.[15] Within two weeks, he is said to have learned

9 T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau: A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary. Oxford 1961, IX.

10 Tamil Culture, Vol. X, No. 1, Jan.-March, 1963, 115.

11 Tamil Culture 1|1963, 10. D. Rajarigam (under No. 8) p. 9.

12 Tamil Culture, 3|1963, 33. J. M. Somasundaram Pillai: 2000 years of Tamil Literature. Madras 1959.

13 Tamil and English Dictionary. Madras 1862, 550.

14 E. Ringenkuhl: 666 Anekdoten. Freiburg 1960, 80

15 Karl Graul: Indische Sinnpflanzen und Blumen. Erlangen 1865, XVIII.

Swedish.[16] Before starting for India (1849) he learned Persian, Sanskrit and also some Tamil, and in India he learnt Tamil and Sentamil and Hindostani and went further in his Sanskrit-studies. One is inclined to quote Namakkal Ramalingam to fit Graul[17]: 'பாஷைகள் பற்பல படித்தவன் நீயே'.

He certainly did not reach Cardinal Mezzofanti's distinction of knowing some 50 languages, but happily he also did not earn the sarcastic judgment which Paul de Lagarde passed on Mezzofanti—that in all these 50 languages he had nothing to say![18] How well Graul must have been conversant with Sanskrit we can see from the fact that soon after his arrival in Bombay he wanted to read the Upanishads[19], and that in Chidambaram in a talk with about fifty Brahmins he was to find out that they had painfully neglected their Sanskrit-studies.[20] And even in his very first year in India he could teach Sanskrit.[21] Also his books testify to his knowledge of Sanskrit.[22]

Graul's biographer Herman writes that Graul had learned a good number of Indian dialects and languages so as to be able to understand them.[23] But we lack any proof for this somewhat high-sounding assertion. For certain, we know that he learned Hindostani in addition to Sanskrit and Tamil so that after a 10 months' stay in India he read Hindostani after lunch as a sort of recreation[24] instead of taking some rest after long hours of study. He also was able to read Telugu, and in his Tamil Grammar we find on the pages

---

16 Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift 1917, 319.

17 Tamil Culture, 1|1963, 7.

18 L. Alsdorf: Deutsch-Indische Geistesbeziehungen. Berlin 1942, 56.

19 Ev.-luth. Missionsblatt (Leipzig) 1850, 214. G. Hermann: Dr. Karl Graul. Halle 1867, 100.

to 8 : Devanesan Rajarigam: Christliche Literatur in der Tamil Sprache. Berlin 1961, 9–14.

20 K. Graul: Reise nach Ostindien. Leipzig 1855. Bd IV, 47, 49.

21 Reise... IV, 108,. Ev.-luth. Missionsblatt 1851, 116.

22 B. T. I, S. XIV.

23 Hermann (cf. 19) S. 100.

24 Reise... IV, 108. Ev.-luth. Missionsblatt 1850, 214; 1851, 117.

96–100 tables of declension and conjugation "in other Dravida dialects"[25] though we may take it for granted that he wrote these examples with the help of others.

Altogether Graul spent two and a half years in India. These he meant to be his "scientific High school" in spite of the fact that he went there as a director of the Leipzig Mission with certain duties to be attended to.

It has been said that Graul has been and still is the only (at least) German mission-director who learnt the language of those people who were meant to be served.[26] The uniqueness of Graul does not stand in any dobut.[27] There is but one example of a German director like Graul : Rev. Wallmann who, at his desk at Wuppertal in Germany, wrote and published about the Nama-language (South Africa) and a Borneo-dialect in the years 1854–1857.[28] But with Graul it was different : he studied in India and he did it so well, that he could talk with the people and could translate into German and was able to write a Tamil Grammar as he was also willing to study Sentamil.

It would seem that he found Tamil more difficult than any other language he had learned earlier. Though he knew that Tamil is synonym with *inimei* (sweetness) and that this beautiful language is "dripping with honey"[29] he called it a "rather peculiar and difficult tongue".[30] When in May 1850 he seems to have come to Tranquebar, he devoted himself to the study of this sweet language beginning at 6 o'clock in the morning untill 1 o'clock, with the help of a Tamil teacher, while at Mayuram (since October 1850) he indulged in Tamil conversation after lunch-time.[31]

---

25 B. T. I. S. XIV. K. Graul: Outline of Tamil Grammar. Leipzig 1855, 96–100.

26 Luth. Missionsjahrbuch 1936. 49. Jahrg., Leipzig 1936, 93. Deutsche Evang. Heidenmission, Jahrbuch 1936 (Hamburg), 49 ff.

27 Wie vorst. Allgem. Missions-Zeitschrift 1917, 317.

28 L. von Ehoden: Geschichte der Rheinischen Mission.|Barmen 1888, 68. Ed. Kriele: Gesch. der Bhein. Mission I. Earmen 1928, 130|1. Brief der Rhein. Mission an den Verf. vom. 17-12-1963. AMZ 1882, 885 ff.

29 Reise... IV, 68, 337.

30 Reise... IV, 70.

31 Reise... IV, 108|9.

The question is open whether Graul began his Tamil studies in Germany, and how far he would have gone in these studies. In 1839 Heinrich Cordes had learned Tamil from Professor Friedrich Ruckert at Erlangen (in Bavaria) : Graul might have gone the same way, but we fail to know that for certain. In my opinion it would be an overstatement to call him an expert in Tamil [32] even before he went to India, though due regard is being given to his enormous linguistic abilities and his stupendous energy. After five months he made his first short public speech in Tamil a Kumbakonam.[33] May be, he could be compared to that young missionary who preached his first sermon after which the Indian pastor praised him highly but added that of course none had understood him ? Or the other one who after his first language-examination addressed an Indian lady in his sort of Tamil and was to hear as answer that she did not understand English ? !

About that time he started teaching children in a Bible-class three times a week and also he tried to preach from the pulpit at Mayuram [34] and give addresses and was leading devotions [35] in Tamil. He was proud and glad also to stand in the old Tranquebar-pulpit before the year 1850 came to a close.[36] Whether or not he did well we do not know. But it may be said that other people were able to preach Tamil sermons after eight months of study in the country. In fact I myself was pressed by my Munshi to deliver my first sermon in Tamil exactly after seven months—but when a Tamil lady told me afterwards that I had "preached like the Apostle Paul" I felt free to doubt this kind appraisal.

So Graul was able to speak with Tamilians and to understand them without the interference of any interpreter. That is much to say about a travelling mission-director : and Graul to this very day remains the only one of that group of people.

---

32 B. T. I, S. XI. Luth. Missionsjahrbuch 1936, 93.
33 Reise... IV, 70.
34 Reise... IV, 108.
35 Reise... V, Leipzig 1956, 82.
36 Reise... IV, 216.

But what is more is that Graul also was a keen student of High tamil[37] so that he could become one of the few translators from Tamil into German, English and Latin.

To study Sentamil is to study another Tamil-language as already B. Ziegenbalg was able to show.[38] Any European student comes to know the difference between the easy grapefruit-like way of talking Tamil that being the way fools would talk, and the Banana-like way of talking which is the talk of the intelligent people—and the way of talking likened to the coconut which is the talking of the wise men who make it difficult to break the hard shell of dark speech in order to find after some efforts only the sweet kernel of meaning.[39]

Graul was digging deeply into the Tamil soil trying to understand the Tamil mind at its deepest depth : he was a knower and not a mere talker.[40] With his trained understanding and his critical mind, he saw what could be wrong with any text-edition and he was in the position to compare differing manuscripts in order to find out the true meaning, and always he looked for more handwritten texts to be compared before he accepted a text for his publications.[41] He had an eye for and he took time to look into small matters. In his translation he took pains to translate the true meaning in such a way that the reader might find it easy to study and to understand the original text. He also was careful about getting the opinions of the commentators to bear on the way of translating any passage being very much afraid to get the work, done by an European, in the very least coloured by European notions which possibility he abhorred.[42] Yet, with all his intention to do the work as conscientiously

37 Reise. . V, 132. Ev.-luth. Missionsblatt 1851, 316 ; 1852, 94.

38 Ziegenbalg's Malabarisches Heidenthum. Amsterdam 1926, 223.

39 Ziegenbalg : "Von ihrer Poesie und Poeten". In : Malabarisches Heidenthum, 223–227. Arno Lehmann : Die sivaitische Frommigkeit. , 33–36. Cf. das. die Anm. 23–25 auf S. 75.

40 Reise . IV, 335. Outline of Tamil Grammar, 96–100. B. T. III, S. XII.

41 B. T. I. S. XIII, XV.

42 B. T. III, S. XVIII, XIX.

as possible he did not want to become "a slave of faithfulness" and thus tried, wherever it seemed feasible, to use rhythm and other means to do justice to aesthetic necessities. He even sometimes did his best to imitate the poetical metre of the Tamil original, simply in order to get some of its "tender flavour" into his German text.[43] About his Latin translation he expressively declares that it was "so faithful to the original as possible" so that the Tamil student could "follow the Tamil text word for word". To a certain extent he followed the Latin translation of Beschi, but if necessary he offered also translations of his own for some passages to make them clear. Since Beschi had not translated the third part of the Kural (Kamatthuppal) being afraid of its "erotical" contents, Graul translated this part for the first time. And he was very careful to let the text and its meaning be what it is in Tamil i.e. he was watchful to the highest degree in no case to give any passage a Christian colouring[44] —a danger which was not in all cases avoided by all translators. I remember when reading some of the "Psalms(!) of a Saiva Saint" translated by the Rev. Isaac Tambyah (London 1925) that almost "naturally" I passed into singing, and after the church-hymn "The Churches *one foundation...*" at that!

Now let us ask : What is it really that Graul has accomplished in the field of Tamil studies and publications ? Among his numerous articles there are a considerable number dealing with religion. Notable is his 5-volume-report about his "Travel to East-India" in which the annotations are of greatest importance for any student. As a matter of fact : Graul aimed at doing much and he also did much. He wrote an "Outline of Tamil Grammar accompanied by specimens of Tamil structure and comparative tables of the flexional system in other Dravida dialects", 102 pp., and this was printed and published at Leipzig (Germany) 1855! This work alone makes Graul worthy enough not to be forgotten.

---

43 B. T. III, XVIII; Sinnpflanzen XII, XIII.
44 B. T. IV, S. VI.

Even more he did in the field of translation into German, English and Latin. He planned to publish a number of books thus showing the Tamil riches to Europeans if God was to give him the strength and time to do so. But he died when only fifty years old. And so we have just four volumes containing his translations. The formulation of the title of his main work seems to follow B. Ziegenbalg's "Bibliotheca Malabarica".[45] That "Malabaric" is equal to Tamil I have shown in one of my books[46]; already Ziegenbalg was fully aware of it when in his "Grammatica Damulica", printed in 1716 at Halle (Germany), he says "*Lingua Damulica seu Malabarica*".

Now Graul's title runs as follows :

BIBLIOTHECA TAMULICA

sive

Opera Praecipua Tamuliensium.

What do we find in these volumes? In his biography a short report is being given, and Graul himself outlines the contents in the volumes I and II.[47] These volumes contain a fine piece of Tamil philosophy i.e. the Vedanta system in a threefold way : the "culmination of the Indian mind"[48] showing the identity of God and Man's soul :

"*Nur Gott ist wirklich,*
die Welt ist Schein;
die Seele ist nichts
als Gott allein".

Vol. I contains the German translation and explanation of *Kaivaljanavanita*, *Pancadasaprakarana* and *Atma Boda Prakasika* and Vol. II *Kaivaljanavanita* only, but along with the

45 Arno Lehmann: Bibliotheca Malabarica. Eine wieder entdeckte Handschrift. Wiss. Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther—Universitat Halle-Wittenberg. Ges.-Sprachw. VIII, 4/5 S. 903–906.

46 Arno Lehmann: Es begann in Tranquebar. Berlin 1956 2, 37–46.

47 Hermann (cf. 19) S. 149–151. Missionsnachrichten der Ostindischen Missionsanstalt zu Halle (HMN) 1854, 25–30.

48 Wie vorst. S. 29.

Tamil text, an English translation, a Glossary of 27 pages, some grammatical explanations and an explanation of 100 " Sanskrit-Vedanta-expressions ".

Volumes III and IV contain the *Kural* of Tiruvalluvar. A short introduction is given in Vol. III on page XV. Some shorter extracts of the Kural were published by Graul also in three other places,[49] and one contribution is given the heading " The Tamilian ' Goethe ' " which was sure to appeal to German readers.

Graul loved the *Kural* dearly, as already Ziegenbalg also had loved this kind of Tamil poetry. It was he, Ziegenbalg, who as the first European had translated such poetry into German.[50] Graul found that the " *Kural* in its three parts was a reflection of the Indian and especially of the Tamilian mind of the people ".[51]

The style of the *Kural* was matchless comparable only with the perfection of the style in Greek ; the *Kural* was to Graul " the pearl of pearls in this old and rich classical literature of the Tamilians "—as also in our time the *Kural* was called " the greatest masterpiece of Tamil literature " and, according to our learned editor, embodying " the rationalisation and synthesis of the wisdom and ideals of the earlier Tamil literature. . . " [52] It is here that attention might be drawn also to the new translation of the *Kural* into the Russian language done in 1963 by a very able young indologist at Moscow whose name we might do well to keep in our mind.[53] The *Kural* will not be praised but it will be read ! As a sort of appetizer in the lecture some examples were given in Tamil as well as in German.

---

49 HMN 1858, 131–146 ; Sinnpflanzen (cf. 16), 35–174 ; " Das Ausland " (Augsburg) 1856, 125–127 ; 325–328 ; 656–659 ; 750–753.

50 B. Ziegenbalg's Kleiner Schriften. Amsterdam 1930, 87 S.

51 B. T. III, S. XIX.

52 Reise. . IV, 193 ; Sinnpflanzen. . S. XI ; M. Sadasivam ; A short account of The Sangam Literature. Madras O. J., S. 8 ; Tamil Culture, 3|1963, S. 30 and Indian thought and Roman stoicism, Kuala Lumpur 1963, S. 16.

53 Yuri Glasov : Tirukural. Moskau 1963. 156 S.

About the poet Tiruvalluvar, of whom even a 15 np-stamp appreared, Graul was well informed.[54] In 1856 he dated his lifetime "not before 200 and not later than 800 after Christ". But in a book published in 1865 he suggested that he was born "not later than 800, but may be even before Christ". With this date he comes near to what contemporaries say.[55]

In the famous *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, Karl Graul published two more translations, namely Nampi's "*Akapporul Vilakkam*"[56] and in 19 pages parts of the "*Sivajnanasittiyar*" of Arul Nanthi[57] which is said to be the bulkiest and the most learned contribution to Tamil philosophy[58] dealing with the "three eternal uncreated principles: soul, deity and illusion".

To Graul, Tayumanavar also was not a stranger. He wrote about him and some, though small portions, of his hymns were translated by him.[59] Graul's plan comprised many items, including an introduction to all the branches of Tamil literature. Yet we know that even of his vol. IV of the *Bibliotheca Tamulica* he saw but one sheet for correction before his early death.[60]

He had done a lot of preparatory work for further publications. One is astonished to see what this painstaking man was able to achieve within a short life-time. How much has he read and studied; what a wealth of knowledge is shown in the annotations alone mentioning poets, their works and where and when they were printed! Of course he knew

---

54 B. T. III S. 185–196. Das Ausland (Augsburg) 1855, 1213–1216.

55 B. T. III S. XI; Sinnpflanzen. S. XI; Illustrated Weekly of India, April 1961, 38.

56 Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft (DMG) Leipzig 1857, 369–395.

57 DMG 1854, 720–738.

58 M. S. Purnalingam Pillai: Tamil Literature. Tinnevelly 1929, 249/50.

59 Das Ausland (Augsburg) 1858, 924–926: cf. auch Sinnpflanzen. S. 187–198. Die vollständige Ubersetzung: Arno Lehmann: Die Hymnen des Tayumanavar. Gutersloh 1935, 270 S.

60 B. T. I S. XVI; B. T. IV S. IX.

Tirujnanasambhandamurti Nayanar and his birth-place Sirkali.[61] His travel in the country was enriched by the knowledge he had about important places and what had happened there. When in Vaithisvarankoil near Sirkali the name of the famous Beschi comes to his mind ; at the proper time he remembers Pattinattuppillaiyar and cites Manikkavasagar.[62] The *Madura-Stala-Purana* is known to him as also the Madura-Sangam. He ponders and writes about the relationship between Tamil and Sanskrit ; he mentions Kapilar, Sivavakkiam, the Vaishnavite Tiruvaimoli and *Pantschatantra* and sources and aspects of Vedanta-philosophy.[63] Graul is well informed about old grammatical and lexical works, about the *Ramayana*, about the Djaina-literature and the buddhistic influences on Tamil literature.[64] He also had read what the famous Christian poet Vedanayagam Sastriar (1774–1864) had sung and paid a visit to the grand old man[65] and from his " The blind way " he translated a portion ;[66] and he also read other Christian writings done in Tamil. During his stay at Madras he visited a College-library and lamented : " Except myself it was only ants which studied these old and not too important Tamil manuscripts ".[67] Being an authority he was asked to write reviews on difficult books ; he read the magazine '*Radjatani*' and mentions a lot of names and works.[68] Unlike other Europeans he was in the position also to pass a judgment on the Bible-translation : He found it not perfect but excellent. " I find that the expressions used in the Bible are just those which I come across when moving among the middle class people. The old missionaries who, by the way, have rightly studied also High—or book—Tamil (and already Ziegenbalg seems to have made a great success) were careful to avoid in the

61 Reise... IV, 329. Ubersetzungen von Liedern Sambandars of Arno Lehmann : Die sivaitische Frommigkeit... S. 5-15.

62 Reise... IV, 33, 37, 39|40, 326.

63 Das Ausland (Augsburg) 1855, 1159|60 ; 1857, 458 fl. ; 1859, 1195 fl.

64 B. T. I S. XI fl., III S. XIII ; Reise... IV, 34, 193, 199, 339|40.

65 Reise... IV, 227.

66 HMN 1858, 18–22.

67 Reise... V, 144.

68 HMN 1858, 23 fl. ; 1859, 101|2 ; 118–128 ; Reise .. V. 153.

Holy Bible any High Tamil influences and at the same time they never fell into the Pariah-Tamil which is not honoured too much among the Tamilians of some standing as a proverb says : 'The blossom of the pumpkin and the language of the Pariahs are scentless'. In short the old missionaries in a most appreciable manner went the middle way ".[69]

In view of his further studies and publications Graul had collected printed works in Tamil and he also had two writers at work who "ceaselessly" copied manuscripts. Graul meant to establish at Leipzig "a small library" which was to be the basis for Tamil studies also for outgoing theologians who were to be well versed with Tamil literature and the deep Tamil mind. This library came into being and had 150 items : at that time if not even today this Tamil library at Leipzig was of unique importance. As Graul expected European scholars to take interest in these Tamil books he published the catalogue in a magazine which was read by all people who took any interest in oriental works.[70] This library (which still exists at Leipzig in the headquarters of the Leipzig Mission) covers grammatical, lexical, epical, lyrical, dramatical, theological, moral and philosophical books and also such as jurisprudence, medicine, folklore, Varia and 16 pieces of Christian literature in Tamil.

But not only this, at Leipzig was also established a Tamil press (as formerly also at Halle). Graul had printed there his Tamil Grammar and his *Bibliotheca Tamulica* including all the Tamil texts. The types are simply wonderful, and Graul felt that these were "in point of elegance and precision" the most beautiful Tamil types he ever had seen in his life.[71]

It might well be asked : what was the motive behind all these activities ? People fond of gossiping at Graul's time were of opinion that this man, highly gifted as he was,

---

69 Reise... V, 181|2.

70 Reise .. V, 131|2 ; Ev.-luth. Missionsblatt 1852, 93 ; AMZ 1917, 320 ; HMN 1854, 22–30 ; der Katalog ; DMG 1853, 558–568.

71 Reise... V, 286, B. T. II S. IX.

had just found a hobby, which he would not fail to cultivate. And did he not lay too much stress upon indology rather than theology ?[72]

Motives usually are mixed ones : such is life and human nature. Making use of the talents given to him was quite right as long as other and perhaps more important duties were not neglected (for he was not a full-time indologist !) But as a director of a mission to India, Graul felt that any theologian going out to India should know his land of adoption at her best. None was good enough for India who otherwise might have made a passable figure at home.[73] They should study the language and the literature in Tamil, and Graul meant to be their teacher and guide into the labyrinthian depths.[74]

At the same time it was Graul's plan and aim to " introduce the Tamil tongue and literature into the sphere of interest of European studies ". Thus it might be said that he wanted to be an early ambassador of India and the Tamilnad ; it is only fair that his name be not forgotten as one of the early and successful dravidologists. And we have to add that he also wanted the Christians in Germany to know what India really was like in her deep aspirations and high philosophy and especially " the noble people " in Tamilnad.[75]

In conclusion, we have a right to ask which place among dravidologists may be given to Graul. How did Graul see himself ? He knew that he had done a formidable thing. To have what Thomas Ohm styled " *das Selbstwertgefühl* ",[76] not belittling oneself, is not to mean a lack of

---

72 Hermann... 146.

73 Reise... V, 130.

74 B. T. I S. XVI ; B. T. III S. IX|X, XVIII. HMN 1854, 22-24 ; Reise. V. 286. K. Graul : Uber Stellung und Bedeutung der christl. Mission im Ganzen der Universitutswissenschaften. Erlangen 1864, 1. B. Ziegenbalg : Malabarisches Heidenthum S. 12 ; Genealogie der Malab. Gotter S. 3.

75 B. T. I S. X. Sinnpflanzen .. S. XIV, XV.

76 Thomas Chm : Machet zu Jungern alle Volker. Freiburg 1962 361, 451.

humility. Given gifts, gifts of God are certainly no pedestal for boasting and self-praise. And never can we observe that Graul fell into such a trap, that he made himself appear as an important man or made a boast of his learning and accomplishments. He knew that others before him had opened up the ways and tracks [77]: he knew them, he recognized their work and he mentioned their names duly. He being a Protestant was full of praise for the Jesuit Beschi "who in the fields of grammar and lexicography has done excellent work indeed" [78] though it would appear to me that he did not know of Beschi's *Tembavani.* He also names the Englishman Drew and the Frenchman Ariel. And he could not fail to see what the old missionaries had done: "They from the very beginning considered it to be their bounden duty to dig into the length, breadth and depth of the Tamil literature, to learn the language well and thus to come to know the way of life and the way of thinking of the Tamilians to the best of their ability". But he was sober enough to realize that with so many new duties at hand they cannot be blamed for not having translated "the main works of Tamil literature along with explanations to make them available for ever".[79] Did he know what Ziegenbalg had done, this "ice-breaker among the South Indian scholars of religion"? [80] As a matter of fact he had read the bulky Halle-Reports of the early missionaries.[81] And so he also must have read Ziegenbalg's letter dated August 22nd 1708 which was the covering letter to the *Bibliotheca Malabarica.*[82] And he knew Ziegenbalg's Tamil Grammar.[83] But never does he refer to Ziegenbalg's books on Hinduism the manuscripts of which gathered dust in the Halle-archives, nor does he mention the very first translation from Tamil into German done by Ziegenbalg: *Nidi Wenpa, Kondei Wenden* and *Ulaga Nidi.* Only 222 years after the completion of this translation it was published

77 Reise... V. 305|6.
78 Reise... V, 308, 309; B. T. III S. XVIII.
79 Reise... V, 308; B. T. III S. XVIII und XIX.
80 R. F. Merkel: Ein vergessener Religionsforscher. "Forschungen und Fortschritte". 9. Jg., Berlin 1933, Nr. 16, S. 234|5.
81 HMN 1853, 57; 1858, 53 ff.
82 Reise... V, 182; HMN 1858, 12, 54.
83 HMN 1858, 131|2; Reise... V, 301, 306.

at Amsterdam in 1930; so he could not know it unless he had discovered the dusty manuscript in the Archives.[84] Yet at least the preface, with slight omissions, was published [85] already in 1710; and he would without doubt have read it and regretted to miss the texts.

We are not able to say whether or not Graul knew about the manifold accomplishments [86] of the old missionaries. He may not have heard about Walther's (unprinted) Sanskrit Grammar and his "*Oberservationes Grammaticae*" nor about Grundler's "*Medicus Malabaricus*".[87] Of course he knew and had in his hands the old Dictionary ("Tranquebar Dictionary") and was in the know of many attempts made by B. Schultze in the field of translations into Tamil and Telugu. It is good to know that he mentioned a work of the great Fr. Schwartz which even found the interest in our days by Bishop Sabapathy Kulandram in Lanka.[88] What Cammerer had done, as the first European, in his attempt of a Kural-translation which was published at Nürnberg (Germany), found Graul's severe criticism.[89]

Since Graul did not know Ziegenbalg's translations mentioned before and as Cammerer's work did not find grace before his eyes (and rightly so) he could well have thought that he was the first German having done solid dravidological work, and his contemporaries could esteem him as such. In fact after Ziegenbalg, Graul is the second in the list of real and true German dravidologists.

Graul of course was aware of the fact that he was not the first *European* (beside Ziegenbalg) who earned a name as a translator. Beschi had translated the first two books

84 Arno Lehmann: Es begann in Tranquebar. Berlin 1956 2, 49, 55–57.
85 Hallesche Berichte I (3. ed. 1716).
86 Vergl. Arno Lehmann: Es begann in Tranquebar, 192 ff.
87 Wie vorst. 57|8; die Anm. 36 auf S. 323; Arno Lehmann: Hallesche Mediziner und Medizinen am Anfang der deutsch-indischen Beziehungen. Wiss. Z. Univ. Halle. Math.-Nat., Jahrg. V. Heft 2, S. 117–182.
88 Reise... V. 304; HMN 1858, 18: W. Germann: Chr. Schwartz. Erlangen 1870, 238–243, Bishop Sabapathy Kulandram, Ceylon: "An unpublished manuscript of Chr. Fr. Schwartz", 6 S. machr.
89 B. T. III S. XVIII.

of the Kural before him, and likewise also Drew (1848). But Graul was the first European to have translated the whole *Kural* in any language and this holds true also with regard to the Vedanta-texts in his *Bibliotheca Tamulica.*

We have reason to say: As Ziegenbalg was the outstanding dravidologist in the XVIII century so Graul was the outstanding dravidologist in his century.

That is why we said in the beginning of this lecture that no jubilee-incense was necessary to exalt Graul, for he *was* a great man. It is enough and it is at the same time also right that we in Germany after 150 years of Graul's birth and 100 years after his untimely death might say, in changing a word of Goethe said in praise of Schiller: [90] For he was *ours*, let this word of pride in this memorial year with force be shouted!

---

90 J. W. Goethe: Epilog zu Schillers Glocke (10 August 1805).

Thiru Vi Kalyāṇasundarar's Concept of Caste

E. SA. VISSWANATHAN

Scholars who have analysed the culture of India have generally expressed a variety of opinions about the institution of caste. The system of caste which has survived to this day, came under criticism during the early 19th century. In North India men like Rājā Rām Mohun Roy (1772–1833) Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824–1883) and Swami Vivekānanda (1863–1902) realised that the caste system 'after doing its service is now filling the atmosphere of India with stink'. Likewise in South India, Rāmaliṅka Adikal (1823–1874) pointed out the defects of the caste system and advocated a casteless society. These scholars, reformers and religious leaders tried to mould a casteless Hindu society but failed to accomplish what they desired. However, their teachings created a new outlook in Indian Society regarding caste.

The Experience of Caste

After Rāmaliṅka Adikal, two prominent social reformers in Tamilnad, South India, worked for the eradication of the evils of the caste system. They were the poet Subramania Bārati (1882–1921) and Tiruvārūr Viruttācalam Kalyāṇasundara Mudaliyār. Bārati, a Brahmin by castes not only criticised the behaviour of the people belonging to the higher caste but also preached against the caste system itself. His views on the age-old caste system have been very clearly stated in his book of poems entitled *Bāratiyār Kavitaikaḷ*.[1]

---

1. " சாதிப் பிரிவுகள் சொல்லி—அதில்
தாழ்வென்றும் மேலென்றும் கொள்வார்,
நீதிப் பிரிவுகள் செய்வார்—அங்கு
நித்தமும் சண்டைகள் செய்வார்.
சாதிக் கொடுமைகள் வேண்டாம் ;—அன்பு
தன்னில் செழித்திடும் வையம் ;
ஆதர வுற்றிங்கு வாழ்வோம் ;— ... "

பாரதியார், பாரதியார் கவிதைகள், பாரதி பதிப்பகம்' சென்னை, 1960, பக்கம் 169.

On the other hand T.V.K. was born in a Veḷḷāḷā community, a community considered next in superiority to the Brahmins. Since his family followed strictly the caste rules, he was brought up in the same atmosphere.[2] But the superiority complex of the Hindus of higher caste did not last long in him. His close association with people of different communities during his youth, and also the Tamil literary works from which he drew his inspiration, made him view the institution of caste from a different angle. The cause for the change of attitude is very clearly described in his autobiography, *Vāḷkaikkurippukkaḷ*

> "I was born in an orthodox family which strictly followed the caste-rules. Naturally I also grew up with the same feelings which, however, fortunately for me did not last; the reason being my close association with Christians during my boyhood days".[3]

The cause for his change of attitude was due to his friendship with the Christians of whom he does not give details in his *Vāḷkaikkurippukkaḷ* However, some names might be mentioned after a careful study of his autobiography. When T.V.K. was at the Wesley College, Royapettah, Madras, pursuing his secondary education, he had ample opportunity to move closely with his teachers of whom David Devadas the Third Form teacher, Krishna Rao the Fifth Form teacher, and G.G. Cacus the Principal of the Institution,[4] are worthy of mention. They were all Christians by faith. True to the precepts of Christianity they might have treated all their students equally, irrespective of their caste or creed, and this might have created a good impression on T.V.K.'s young mind. Later, when he started his career as a teacher at the Wesleyan Mission School, Thousandlights, Madras., he associated himself closely

---

2. Tiru. Vi. Kalyāṇasundara Mudaliyār, *Tiru. Vi. Ka. Vāḷkaikkurippukkaḷ*, [page 776
3. Ibid. page 767.
4. Ibid. pages 55-57.

with the Ādidrāvidā boys, and this association enabled him to broaden his outlook on the caste system.

> "I had the opportunity of moving with the Ādidrāvidā pupils at the Thousandlights school. What was it that I gained by this association? I became an Ādidrāvidā: in other words I became casteless. I wrote and spoke that there should be no caste distinctions in society. I myself was able to practice what I advocated through the press, through my books and speeches."[5]

Some other isolated incidents, however insignificant they might be, have also influenced the opinion of T.V.K. regarding the function of caste in Indian society, and urged him to work for its extirpation. Of these, two incidents are worth recollecting here. During T.V.K.'s younger days 'Sivaṉaṭiyār Tirukkūṭṭam' was the prominent registered Saivaite Association in Madras. Its founder was one Ati Mudaliār, a person of liberal views who advocated inter-dining on festive occasions. This created great stir among the orthodox members of the Association. They were unable to reconcile their orthodoxy with the unorthodox attitude of the President, Āti Mudaliyār, and therefore left the Association for good. Some of those who severed their connection with it, not only worked against its interests but also planned to harm the President. T.V.K. was taken aback at hearing of behaviour of the Caste Saivites. An analogous incident created by Caste Saivites happened at Tuticorin when Maṟaimalai Adikaḷ (1876–1950) went to preside over the Saiva Siddhanta Annual Conference in 1910. He observed that the born-vegetarians or Saivites of higher caste were served food in an exclusive place whereas others were not allowed even to pass that way. Maṟaimalai Adikaḷ being a man of a liberal outlook advised the organisers to follow the principles of Saivism, and impressed on them the necessity for inter-dining especially at such conferences. After much deliberation, they

5. Ibid. page 239.

acceded to his point of view. Later, a group of self-conceited Saivites attacked him in a magazine article which, with much abusive matter, asserted the superiority of their caste on false and most erroneous grounds. He might have treated it with indifference, for it contained no argument worth contending, but because of the harmful influence it was likely to have on the minds of the unenlightened, he took up cudgels on behalf of the down-trodden and in the interests also of the true Saivā community, whose progress depended not on its exclusiveness but on absorbing into it and assimilating within itself, persons of higher qualities turned out from the lower rungs of Indian Society. The result was the first edition of *Cāti Vērṟumaiyum Pōlic Caivarum*,[6] wherein he explained the tenets of the Saivā religion, and exposed the myth of caste in Saivism. Not only did this treatise create a commotion but it also ended in a court case which was an eye-opener for T.V.K.[7] It induced him to work with greater zeal for the abolition of caste and its evils, from Tamil society.

Influence of Thinkers

The seeds of reform were, however, sown in him by one Alarmēlmaṅkaittāyār, a Brahmo Samajist and social worker. He has this to say about her in his autobiography :—

> I saw Alarmēlmankaittāyār at the Congress Social Reform Conference in 1909. In those days it was a rare sight to see Indian women participating in political conferences, and much less, speaking at such conferences. She was engaged at that time in social activities... She encouraged me in my youth to take up to social service. She was the pioneer of many of the movements that are in existence now in South India and her life itself was dedicated to social service.[8]

6. Maṟaimalai Adikal, CĀTI VĒṞṞUMAIYUM PŌLIC CAIVARUM, pages 9-10.
7. Tiru. Vi. Ka., Tiru. Vi.Ka. Vāḻkaikkuṟippukkaḷ, pages 767-768.
8. Ibid. page 739.

The next personality that influenced T. V. K. was Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948) who after entering the political scene of India realized that the evils of the caste system and untouchability were the two great barriers in the way of achieving national unity. Therefore he realized the urgent need to cut at the root, the evils of caste in Hindu Society and directed his efforts towards that end. The movement led by Gandhiji had also considerable effect on T.V.K. and induced him to work for the eradication of the caste system.[9]

In order to launch an effective campaign against the caste system, a sound knowledge of its growth as well as its function in society was essential. It was all the more essential because the caste system continued to be a powerful living force in Hindu Society, in spite of Gandhiji's work. T.V.K. was fully aware of the need and, therefore he read Vedic Literature, (circa 1000 B.C.) the Laws of Manu (Circa 200 A.D.) and the works of various social reformers, thus equipping himself adequately. Before beginning his campaign, he explained in simple and lucid manner to the people, the philosophy behind the Caste system.

According to T.V.K. the source of Hinduism is the Ṛg-Veda. The rules for the Hindu way of life were codified by Manu, the great law-giver of the Hindus. The life blood of Hindu society was the Sanātana Dharma or Varṇāśrama-dharma.[10] Varṇāśrama-dharma has two aspects of which the Varṇa-dharma was conceived for the benefit of society, and the Āśrama-dharma for the benefit of individual self. The whole of society was classified into four major functional groups namely Brāhmana, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra 'the priestly order, the military order, the agricultural-commercial-artisan order, and the servile order'. The Āśrama-dharma arranged the life of an individual into four stages which were known as Brahmacārya, Gṛhastya, Vānaprastya

---

9. Tiru. Vi. Ka., MAṈITA VĀLKKAIYUM GĀNDHIADIKAḺUM, pages 109–111.

10. Tiru. Vi. Ka., INTIYĀVUM VIṬUTALAIYUM, page 88.

and Sannyàsa which respectively signify the period of studentship, the period of work or the life of a householder in society, the period of retreat and the period of renunciation. The division of Varṇāśrama-dharma was most natural and was intended for the smooth functioning of social as well as individual life.[11]

When Sanātana-dharma was formulated, everyone in society followed a vocation in life suited to his temperament or taste, such as teaching, business, agriculture etc. Thus the four-fold classification of society was primarily an occupational division rather than a division on the basis of birth. For example names like teacher, potter, farmer, astrologer etc., denoted names of occupations at one time, and even now are regarded as purely professional names in many villages in the South. Later, however, heredity and tradition determined the occupation of an individual, instead of taste and temperament. Naturally this practice paved the way for hardening of the caste system on the basis of birth. The rule that birth determined the occupation of an individual continued for centuries, and so the son of a teacher irrespective of the profession he followed, was considered to be a Brahmin by virtue of his birth.[12] The Hindu law books which speak about the Varṇāśṛama-dharma classify the varṇa-dharma both on the basis of occupation and birth. This form of classification of the caste system could be found in Sukra Niti, or The *The Laws of Sukrā*. This merely leads us to suggest that the general concept of the caste system underwent a gradual change to suit the conditions of a particular period. Because the modifications were quite contrary to the original, T.V.K. like other Tamil scholars of South India[13] considered them to be interpolations.

---

11. Ibid. page 373.
12. Tiru. Vi. Ka., MAṈITA VĀḺKKAIYUM GĀNDHIADIKAḶUM, page 102.
13. இடைச் செருகலில் இடைக்காலச் சாதி இந்தியா பேர்பெற்று விளங்கியது. இதுபற்றித் தென்மொழியிலும் வடமொழியிலும் பெரும் புலமை வாய்ந்த பாம்பன் குமரகுருதாச சுவாமிகள் தமது "குமார சாமியம்" என்னும் நூலில் வருந்தி வருந்திப் பாடிய பாடல்கள் நினைவுக்கு வருகின்றன .... சுக்கிர நீதி என்றொரு நூல் வட மொழியில் யாக்கப்பட்டது. அதில் தொழிலை யொட்டிய சாதிப்

T.V.K.'s opinion deserves consideration especially when most of the law books that were written after Manu, the original law-giver of the Hindus, were ascribed to him. Naturally when scholars, both oriental and occidental, in their study noted the contradictions in the laws that were attributed to Manu, some of them doubted the authenticity of the original work of Manu itself, while others regarded the contradictory laws as interpolations.[14]

The evils of the caste system in society originated from the initial four-fold classification of the Varṇās. Even when caste was decided on the basis of birth there was no conflict in society. The trouble started only when certain castes arrogated to themselves superior rights and privileges. Especially when the Brāhmins claimed superiority over others by virtue of their professional qualification and by their birth, it met with stiff resistence from the Kshatriyas. Buddha (B.C. 563-483) and Mahavira (B.C. 599-527), the two earliest reformers of India, strove to achieve equality among the various sections of society. But their efforts to achieve

---

பாகுபாடுகளும், பிறப்பையொட்டிய சாதிப் பாகுபாடுகளும் பேசப் பட்டுள்ளன. ஓரே நூலில் முரண்பட்ட கருத்துக்கள் எப்படி யிருத்தல் கூடும்? அதை இடைச் செருகல் திருவிளையாடலென்று சொல்லவும் வேண்டுமோ? அத்திருவிளையாடல், சுக்கிரநீதி தமிழ் மொழி பெயர்ப்பாசிரியர் பண்டிதமணி கதிரேசன் செட்டியார் தமது மொழிபெயர்ப்பு முகவுரையில் பொறித்துள்ள குறிப்புக் களால் நன்கு விளங்குகிறது.

மெய்யோ டேபொய்யும் விரவிடு மாறுபன் னூலுட்
கைய ராயவர் பலநுழைத் தாரவை கணித்தே
ஐய நீக்குத லரிதரி தேயத னுவிவ்
வைய நாடுவ ரோவுரி யவரயின் மதனே.

பொய்யில் வேதவி யாசன துரையெனும் புராணத்
தெய்வம் வாழ்தல் மீதெனப் பலகதை தெரித்தே
உய்ய லாமெனச் செய்தசு வடிகளு முளவான்
மெய்ய ரிங்குறல் விழைவர்கொ லோவயில் வேந்தே.

தனது நுதனஞ் சிறந்திடற் கோதனைச் சார்ந்தோர்
தினமு நன்குணரற் கோசில சுவடிகள் செய்தோன்
அனக விசுரன் மொழியிவை யென்றது மறிந்தேன்
இனைய பூமியை யுறளல ஜேவயி விறையே.

எந்த வானுட னெம்மட வரலும்வி ராயே
தந்த மானுட ருளரென லறிநதுமெஞ் சாதி
நந்து மோவெனும் படிறர்கள் சுவடிக ளாம்பும்
இந்த மாநில மினிவிழை யேனயி விறையே.

திரு.வி.க. இந்தியாவும் விடுதலையும், சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை,
1956, பக்கம் 214-15.

14 Tiru. Vi. Ka., INTIYĀVUM VIṬUTALAIYUM, pages 214-215.

equality among the various groups failed to make any appreciable change in the caste-ridden Hindu society of their day. This failure to achieve equality was largely due to the Hindu kings, who jealously guarded the professional duties of each caste, and considered that as their Râja-dharma.[15]

Besides the four-fold divisions of the caste system a fifth one was created which was known as the Pañcamar caste. The members of this caste were those who performed all sorts of menial work for the rest of society. For their service to the community, the community in turn not only humiliated them to an unimaginable degree but also repudiated their fundamental rights as human beings. When the system was actively functioning in the community, the social status of the Pañcamars was deplorably low and their dwelling places on the outskirts of the villages resembled those of a communal slave holding. The greatest anomaly was that those untouchables or Pañcamars in turn, imitated the Hindus of higher caste and divided themselves into a number of sub-castes, thereby weakening the unity and solidarity as a group. Many social reformers were sorry for their lot in life, and worked for their uplift. However, those who were against the improvement of their conditions argued that untouchability had the sanction of the Vedās. But renowned scholars in Vedic literature like Dayānand Saraswati rejected their claim and said that it was a travesty of truth.[16]

At a time when caste and untouchability were given prominence in Hindu society, certain far-sighted thinkers in Bengal and Gujarat raised their voice against the age-old customs. In Bengal, Rājā Rām Mohun Roy set the wheel of reform in motion. He genuinely believed that the 'distinctions of caste, introducing innumerable divisions and sub-divisions among men, has entirely deprived them of

15. Tiru. Vi. Ka., MAṈITA VĀḺKKAIYUM GĀNDHIADIKALUM, pages 102-103 & 89-90.

16. Tiru.Vi.Ka., TAMIḺ TEṈTRAL ALLATU TALAIMAIPPOḺIVU, page 95

patriotic feeling, and the multitude of religious rites and ceremonies and laws of purification had totally disqualified them from undertaking any difficult enterprise. So, in order to create an awakening in Hindu society, and to reorient Hindu religion, he inaugurated the famous theistic organization, the Brahmo Samāj, in 1828. The influence of the Brahmo Samāj spread throughout the length and breadth of the Indian sub-continent and as a result many more associations and samājams sprung up, of which, the Prarthana Samāj of Bombay (1867) and the Satya Samāj of Poona (1873) are worth citing here. These two organizations functioned under the able guidance of the Mahārāṣṭrian leader Justice Govinda Rānadē (1842–1904), on the same lines as the Brahmo-Samāj.

Meanwhile in Gujarat, Dayānand Saraswati formed the Ārya Samāj (1875) also a theistic organization, with a programme to reform Hindu society and religion. The Ārya Samāj has drawn its inspiration principally from the Vedas, more than from any other Scriptures of the Hindus. T.V.K. was fully aware of the high ideals for which the reform movements of North India stood, and made his comment on the Ārya Samāj as an organization inaugurated with the basic idea of rejuvenating the Hindu society, by removing the evils that had crept into it, like the caste system.[17] Last in line of these reformers was Gandhiji, whose interpretation of Sanātana-dharma was quite original. It had the approval neither of the reformers nor of the orthodox pundits. Gandiji always considered himself as a Sanātana Hindu. Varṇāśhrama-dharma according to him 'is inherent in human nature systematised by the Hindu religion for its social use.' He felt that the four-fold classification of caste would satisfy the basic needs of society, and warned that any further division would be a serious blow. Gandhiji also explained that by caste division he meant only the duties assigned to different sections of society, but did not include any privileges.

17. Tiru. Vi. Ka., INTIYĀVUM VIṬUTALAIYUM, pages 250–251.

To presume that caste denotes any privileged status of an individual, he said, was contrary to the spirit of Hinduism. He also held that restrictions on inter-dining and inter-marriage were accidental aspects, rather than an integral part of Varṇāśrama-dharma. T.V.K., while generally accepting Gandhiji's viws on Varṇāśrama-dharma, sharply disagreed when it came to the question of work being allotted on the basis of caste; and pointed out that this was contrary to the very nature of human beings. He strongly felt that to restrict or curb the natural inclination of a person for a particular aspect of work, even though it was not the vocation of his caste, was a criminal waste of energy and as such it should not be encouraged as a norm of society. Thus T.V.K. was quite familiar with all the views of Gandhiji as well as the other reformers of North India on the age-old caste system, because references are found in abundance in almost all his works.[18]

After a comprehensive study of the social movements of North India, T.V.K. made a study of the history of the caste system in South India, especially in Tamilnad. In his view the ancient Tamil Classics speak only of the regional division known as 'the mountain region (Kuṟinci), the pasture-lands (Mullai), the temporary dry, waterless arid patches (Pālai), the agricultural region (Marutam), and the maritime tracts (Neytal)'. Besides this five fold division of land and the corresponding occupations, there was hardly any mention about caste divisions. But the Tolkāppiyam, the oldest Tamil grammatical treatise, not only makes this stereotype land division, but also indicates that the inhabitants of those regions were classified as Mēlōr and Kīḻōr. It is very hard now to establish the motive, or the true significance of these divisions. Yet there are grounds to think and believe that there existed in early Tamil society a division of society analogous to the caste system. However, when T.V.K. makes an analysis of the genesis of the caste system in early Tamil society, he

18. Tiru. Vi. Ka., MAṈITA VĀḶKKAIYUM GĀNDHIADIKAḶUM, pages 103-107.

skips over this point and summarily states that Tamil Society had only land divisions, but not caste divisions. He, however, admits that the caste system in all its blemishes crept into Tamil society at a very early stage. T.V.K. felt that an analysis of origin of the caste system, its spread, and its continuity, was a study not worth attempting.

However, the caste system became a permanent feature of Tamil society and as a result the entire Tamil population was divided into Brāhmins, non-Brāhmins and Ādidrāvidās. Some felt that the Brāhmins and the non-Brāhmins were of the Aryan and Dravidian stock, respectively. Such an unorthodox classification was based on certain oft-changing historical evidences, which also contributed to additional internal dissensions in society.[19] Furthermore, among the non-Brāhmins and Brāhmins, innumerable sub-castes sprouted like mushrooms to disintegrate Tamil society. Naturally, this created an alarming effect on the minds of thinkers and scholars of Tamil Nad. As early as the second century of the Christian era, Tiruvaḷḷuvar spoke of equality in birth in his famous work *Tirukkural* thus: 'All human beings have birth common to them, but differ as regards their characteristics, because of the different qualities of their actions'.[20] During the 7th century the Nayanmars and the Alwars relentlessly preached against the evils of the caste system.[21] In the 12th century, Cēkkiḷar composed the *Periyapurāṇam*, a detailed biography of the Nāyanmārs, wherein he narrates not only the story of their lives but also the social conditions of Tamilnad at that period. The Nāyanmārs, though belonging to various castes, lived above all petty

19. Tiru. Vi. Ka., CIRTIRUTTAM ALLATU ILAMAI VIRUNTU, page 109.

20. Tiruvaḷḷuvar, TIRUKKURAL, Chap. 98, Kural 2, quoted in Tiru. Vi. Ka's Cirtiruttam allatu Iḷamai Viruntu p. 38 and in Manita Vāḷkkaiyum Gāndhiadikaḷum, page. 109.

21. Tiru. Vi. Ka., CIRTIRUTTAM ALLATU ILAMAI VIRUNTU, [page 38.
" CITTA MĀRKAM, page 36.
" TAMIL TENRAL ALLATU TALAMIPPOLIVU, page 49.

differences of caste. References such as that of a Vellālā Saint Tirunāvukkarasar (Circa 7th Century A.D.) along with a Yālpānar caste saint accompanying a Brāhmin saint Gnāṇacampantar to all the Saiva temples in which he was normally forbidden to enter, prove that the Nāyanmārs rejected the discriminatory practices of the caste system. T.V.K., an ardent student of the *Periyapūraṇam*, was able to perceive its inner spirit.[22] As lately as in the 19th century, Rāmalinka Adikal (1823–1874) a great socio-religious leader and a mystic poet of the Tamils, perceived the defects of the caste system, and, gave expression to them in his poetical work the *Tiruvaruṭpā*.[23] Rāmalingar observed that even temples were not free from caste prejudices; so he established a common prayer hall at Vadalūr, in South Arcot, Madras, known as the Vadalūr Sabai,[24] where all could go and worship, irrespective of caste or other considerations. A critical study of the Tamil classics as well as the works of other liberal scholars strengthened T.V.K.'s conviction, and as such, he resolved to work for the eradication of the caste system. As he was closely associated with religious, political and labour movements, he was able to propagate his ideas through these fields, and to achieve a certain amount of success.

Religion and Caste

Religious activities in Tamilnad have been carried out by temples as well as by religious mutts and private associations. Unfortunately, they were also influenced by the

---

22. Tiru. Vi. Ka., CITTA MĀRKAM, pages 36–37.
 " CĪRTIRUTTAM ALLATU IḶAMAI VIRUNTU, page 39.

23. " நால்வருணம் ஆசிரமம் ஆசாரம் முதலா
 நவின்றகலைச் சரிதமெலாம் பிள்ளைவிளை யாட்டே
 மேல்வருணந் தோல்வருணங் கண்டறிவா ரிலைநீ
 விழித்திதுபா ரென்றெனக்கு விளம்பியசற் குருவே."

இராமலிங்க சுவாமிகள், திருவருட்பா, ஆறுவது திருமுறை, அருட்பெருஞ்சோதி அச்சகம், சென்னை-1. பக்கம் 168.

 " சாதியு மதமுஞ் சமயமுந் தவிர்த்தே
 சாத்திரக் குப்பையுந் தணந்தேன் . . . "
 Ibid. பக்கம் 120.

24. Tiru. Vi. Ka, IRĀMALIṄKA CUVĀMIKAL TIRUVUḶḶAM, page, 34–35.

taboos of caste. The Hindus of higher caste, who were closely associated with these religious institutions, strictly adhered to caste divisions and prevented certain sections of people, who could be classified under the broad heading 'Ādidrāvidās', from entering the temples for worship. Saivā mutts permitted only the Saivites of higher caste to be initiated, and only they were allowed to study the religious scriptures in their schools. Saivā associations also practised commensal restrictions during religious functions. T.V.K. was fully aware that only the Saivites of higher caste were behind all these activities, and therefore thought fit to spread the message of true Saivism through his speeches at religious conferences. On those occasions he chose the oft-quoted lines from the *Saivā Samaya Neri or the Path of Saivā Religion* which state that the true concept of Saivism is eternal love; the true manifestation of eternal love is Sivā. They summarized the whole concept of Saivism and according to this all beings, animate and inanimate, deserve love and compassion at the hands of all Saivites, because Sivā the Supreme creator resides in them all. "How could a religion with such a message to humanity", asked T.V.K., "ever subscribe to the evils of the caste system."[25] However, the Saivites of higher caste asserted that the Saivā religion approved of caste distinctions. To refute their arguments T.V.K. narrated the biographies of the Saiva Saints as detailed in the *Periyapurāṇam*. He pointed out that Tirunilakaṇṭa Yālppāṇar, a Saiva Saint of a depressed class not only toured with Gnānasambantar, a saint of the Brāhmin community, to various Saivā temples but also reproduced his devotional songs then and there, with faultless skill on the Yāḻ instrument. Also the Brahmin saint Appūti Adikal, revered Tirunāvukkarasu, a Veḷḷāḷā saint, as his guru, and dined with him during his pilgrimage to Tinkalūr. Another Saivā saint, Sundaramūrti Nāyanār, also of the Brāhmin community, married a temple dancer's daughter Paravaiyār. Moreover Sundaramūrti sang in the

25. Tiru. Vi. Ka, CAIVATTIṈ CAMARACAM, page 59.

Tiruttontar Togai, a concise biography of Saivā Saints, that he was the disciple of the disciples of Lord Sivā! By quoting profusely from the *Periyapurāṇam* and other Saivite books, T.V.K. was able to correct the false notions of the Saivites belonging to higher caste, and impressed upon them that the Nāyanmārs were the forerunners of social reform in Tamil Nad.[26] T.V.K. deprecated the attitude of the higher caste Saivites for worshipping the Nāyanmārs without following in the least, their teachings.[27] He also made it clear in his writings and speeches that Saivism would not have a future if such evils persisted in the name of the Saivā religion.[28]

> 'Saivites of upper caste celebrate festivals for Appar and Mānikkavācakar without following their teachings. They read the biographies of Tirunāḷaippōvār, Appūti Adikal, Tirunīlanakkar, Tirunīlakanṭa Yāḷppānar, Naminanti Adikal, and others, without their ideals being practised. Nampiyāṇṭār sang that he was the disciple of all the disciples of Lord Siva; without attaching any importance to caste or creed. The icons of the saints are installed in temples. Temple worship and the recitation of religious books are still very popular among the Saivites. But in actual life do they follow what they read? Lord Sivā liberated the souls of a snake, a spider, an elephant, in short, birds and beasts from part of the cyclic order of births and deaths; but that in His temple some human beings are not allowed to pray seems absurd and out of tune with Saivism. Unless this is realised as cruel on the part of the Saivites of higher caste, Saivism may not have a future. The Saiva Saints like

---

26. Tiru. Vi. Ka., CITTA MĀRKAM, page 36.
Tiru. Vi. Ka., CIRTIRUTTAM ALLATU IḶAMAI VIRUNTU, pages 38–39.
Tiru. Vi. Ka., CAIVATTIṈ CAMARACAM, page 58.

27. Tiru. Vi Ka., CITTA MĀṚKAM, pages 36–37.
Tiru. Vi Ka., IRĀMALINKA CUVĀMIKAḶ TIRUVUḶḶAM, page 34.

28. Tiru. Vi. Ka., CITTA MĀRKAM, page 37.

> Gnāṉasambantar sang that 'Siva is all pervading and is in all beings. To strive to achieve oneness with the Supreme which is in all beings is true Saivism.'[29]

Politics and Caste

Historians attribute various causes for the loss of India's independence. T.V.K. felt that the evils of the caste system were the main cause. At first the caste system simply meant the occupational division of society for the benefit of society in general. In course of time his basic conception underwent a rapid change and the functional division degenerated into castes based rather on hereditary right than on aptitude and function. This notion became popular among the people and so the rulers also guarded it assiduously from being changed. Consequently it resulted in the fragmentation of society 'into an inchoate mass of small units' rendering the development of any common social feelings impossible. The division of society into a number of small units with no common social spirit, tended to hamper the progress of society both culturally and economically. Further, it enfeebled society and as a result certain far reaching consequences took place in the political sphere. Due to the inherent weakness of the caste system the people even at a time of national emergency failed to cooperate among themselves, and this paved the way for foreign rule in India.

> 'Caste divisions on the basis of birth was the cause for the degeneration of the Hindu society. The moment the caste system was corrupted into a hereditary vocational system, it inflicted a severe blow on society as well as on the country itself. Unfortunately the formation of caste based on hereditary descent was guarded by the rulers of that time. The result was the gradual hardening of the caste system and the consequent disunity in Indian

---

29. Tiru. Vi. Ka., CITTA MĀRKAM, pages 36–38.
Tiru. Vi. Ka., IRĀMALIṄKA CUVĀMIKAḶ TIRUVUḶḶAM, page 35.

society. According to the rules of the caste system only a few could get military training, and as the rest were engaged in non-military professions, thus contributed to the loss of freedom.[30]

"India lost its freedom not because of the weapons of the Britishers but because of the caste system, superstitious beliefs, untouchability, the subordinate status of women, and religious bigotry".[31]

Caste-ridden Indian society failed to unite even under foreign domination. The Britishers fully understood the weakness of their Indian subjects, and they refrained from reforms which might affect their interests. Besides, they passed legislation to perpetuate caste functions. The Indians unable to comprehend the motive behind these enactments, further divided themselves by their representations in State Legislatures and other places.

'Take for example our present State Legislatures where you have representatives from the Muslims, non-Muslims, Christians and Scheduled castes and from various other groups. Why did the British Parliament institute such laws? Was it due to their desire to keep in tune with the trend of the Country? But the Britishers never considered whether it was in the interests of India to pass such legislation which indirectly perpetuated numerous caste divisions. Because of their vested interests they encouraged further divisions. If the numbers elected to legislative assemblies are drawn on the basis of caste or creed or religion, how can unity be achieved in a caste-ridden society?'[32]

This trend helped the foreign rulers to a considerable extent. So some Englishmen with the cooperation of educated Indians, inaugurated the Indian National Congress (1885 A.D.)

---

30. Tiru. Vi. Ka. INTIYĀVUM VITUṬALAIYUM, page 38.
31. Ibid. page 150.
32. Ibid. pages 230-231.

to 'regenerate the mental, moral, social and political activities' of the people of India. Thus the movement was broadly based and free from communal and other distinctions.

> 'Congress was an all India organisation formed for the purpose of safeguarding Indian interests and to attain Independence. It was a non-communal organisation with a mission to fulfil. The origin of this movement bears testimony to this fact. Its first President was a Christian the second a Parsee, and the third a Muslim. Some Hindus as well as Englishmen were also Presidents. ...Allan Octavian Hume inaugurated the Congress movement which became a powerful organization, in the fight for India's Independence'.[33]

T.V.K. joined the Congress movement in 1917 in order to work for the independence of India.[34] While he was working for the spread of the Congress movement in Tamil Nad, he had ample opportunity to observe the various social trends in Tamil society. At that time it was divided into two major groups namely the Brāhmins and the non-Brāhmins. The animosity between them, to a certain extent, was not conducive to harmony in Tamil society. Some stated that the Brāhmins were Āryans and the non-Brāhmins were Dravidians and this created further strained relationship between them. In order to bring about friendship and unity between these two sections of community T.V.K. criticised the classification of the Brāhmins into Āryans, and the non-Brāhmins into Dravidians, pointing out that these two ethnic groups were subject to miscegenation thousands of years ago. Therefore he said that the present generation should consider itself to be the result of that fusion, and therefore to divide the Tamils into Āryans and Dravidians

---

33. Ibid. page 258.
Tiru. Vi. Ka., Tiru. Vi. Ka. Vāḷkaikkuṛippukkaḷ, page 298.
Tiru. Vi. Ka., Tamiḷ Cōlai Allatu Kaṭṭurait tiraṭṭu, part 90, pages 385-365.

34. Tiru. Vi. Ka., Tiru. Vi. Ka. Vāḷkaikkuṛippukkaḷ page 297.

should be viewed as illogical. The proper attitude therefore with regard to this question would be to consider all those who regarded Tamil as their mother-tongue as Tamils and to treat them as such, irrespective of any other consideration.

'Let us consider the Āryan and Dravidian conflict and find out whether it contains any truth. How is it possible to divide the entire population of South India into Āryans and Dravidians? Historical evidence proves that the Āryans came to the South thousands of years ago. Could any one believe that these ethnic groups lived in complete isolation during these years? To-day, we find, the emergence of the Anglo-Indian community, which is the result of the miscegenation between the Europeans and Indians. Why cannot we consider therefore, the present generation as a progeny of the inter-mixture of Āryans and Dravidians. This is further confirmed by the similarity of customs between the Brāhmins and the non-Brāhmins. Contrary to fact, to state that a section of the South Indian community is Āryan and the rest is Dravidian, is beyond truth. The racial history of Southern India is an extremely complicated subject and we cannot at this stage utilise the conclusions of historians, to fan the fire of the Āryan-Dravidian conflict. Since ethnological evidence is forthcoming, the findings of the historians are bound to be rather tentative and inconclusive, and therefore there is no point in using them to create unnecessary division in society. According to historians, conflicts might have occurred at the initial stages between the Āryans and Dravidians, and for that reason we should not continue the same conflict now.[35]

35. Tiru. Vi. Ka., TAMIḶ TEṈṞAL ALLATU TALAMAIPPOḶIVU, pages 90–91.

Tiru. Vi. Ka., CĪRTIRUTTAM ALLATU IḶAMAI VIRUNTU, pages 105–106.

Tiru. Vi. Ka., INTIYĀVUM VIṬUTALAIYUM, pages 108–110.

According to T.V.K., the seeds for the Āryan and Dravidian conflict were sown by the English educated non-Brāmins. Only they, in order to further their interests in life, engaged in a compaign of hatred against the Brāmins.

> Generally the English educated persons are engaged in instigating the members of their community against another, in the name of upliftment of their community.[36] They learned the English language in order to earn their livelihood. Corresponding to the number of English educated persons, the available vacancies in Government are not too many. So many are without suitable jobs, and only they are engaged in organising the members of their community to oppose advanced communities. To prevent these differences in society, emphasis on English for earning a livelihood should be discouraged, and all possible encouragement should be given to commercial education. Only then will the country prosper without these animosities.[37]

At a time, when, non-Brāhmin intellectuals were engaged in reorganising the non-Brāmin community as a whole, Sir P. Tiyāgarāja Cheṭṭiār (1852-1925), in order to raise the general condition of the non-Brāhmin community to the level of the Brāmins, thought of organising a separate party. In 1916, at the Saiva Siddhanta Mahāsamājam Saivite Conference, he was invited to deliver a speech on 'The Progress and Uplift of the non-Brāhmin community.' He exhorted in that speech that the non-Brāhmins should not have faith either in the Congress movement or in the Self-rule movement because the Brāhmins have a monopoly of them. That speech of Cheṭṭiār was the chief cause for the inauguration of the Justice party in 1917.[38] Its activities created unrest

---

36. Ibid. page 218.
37. Tiru. Vi. Ka., TAMIL̠ CŌLAI ALLATU KAṬṬURAIT TIRAṬṬU, Part I pages 89-90.
38. Tiru. Vi. Ka., Tiru. Vi. Ka. VĀLKAIKURIPPUKKAḶ, pp. 255-256.

in Tamil society which caused bitterness between the Brāhmins and the non-Brāhmins. The Brāhmins realised the potency of the Justice party and therefore they united among themselves more closely than ever before. The propaganda of the Justice party also drew the attention of the non-Brāhmin members in the Congress party, of whom some began to waver as to which party would be of service to the non-Brāhmin community, as a whole. Naturally, such a wavering attitude of the non-Brāhins caused a crisis within the Congress party. Further, the Justice party's campaign for caste representation in all walks of life, as well as the propaganda carried out by their party newspapers *Justice*, (English) and *Tirāviṭan* (Tamil) roused the feelings of the non-Brāhmin community. T.V.K., who was watching the situation carefully thought fit to counteract the vicious propaganda of the Justice party, before it went out of control. So he made his first political speech on 'The Dravidians and Congress' in 1917, at a Congress meeting, at which he denounced the activities of the Justice party, and appealed to the non-Brāhmin community not to be carried away by the malicious propaganda of the Justice party that it represented all non-Brāhmins in the South.[39]

Encouraged by this speech, the non-Brāhmins in the Congress party decided to form a separate party to counterbalance the activities of the Justice party. So, under the presidentship of Mr. Kesava Pillai 'The Madras Presidency Association' was formed, with the basic principles of the Congress party, but pledged to safeguard the interests of the non-Brāhmin community. The new organisation was formed with T.V.K.'s cooperation, to resist effectively the malignant propaganda carried out by the Justice party.

'Justice' and 'Tirāviṭan', the two party papers of the Justice party were spreading the principles of the party among the masses. T.V.K. was well aware of the potentiality for evil, of the communal newspapers.

39. Ibid. page 259.

"Newspapers are powerful organs, and if they desire, they could fan or extinguish the flames of communalism. If the Indian newspapers make a vow not to encourage communalism, then there would not be any communal chaos in the country. If the newspapers realise their duty they owe to the nation, and change their polity, then there will be absolute peace in society.[40]

So he joined the Tamil newspaper 'Tēsabaktaṉ' as an Editor, and served in that capacity for two and a half years.[41] Later he started his own paper Navasakti to reduce the influence of the Justice party's Tamil organ, the 'Tirāviṭan'.

'While the Tirāviṭan was engaged in arousing communal hatred in Tamil society, *Tēsabaktaṉ* was preaching communal tolerance. Therefore these two papers were working for diametrically opposite ends. On the one hand *Tēsabaktaṉ* was educating the people on the harms of communal hatred. Owing to the indefatigable work of *Tēsabaktaṉ* the people understood the dangers of communalism. So the influence of Tirāviṭan, as well as the hold of the Justice party on the non-Brāhmin community, began to wane.[42]

Moreover, he pointed out through his papers that communal representation would not only disturb the harmony among the various communities, but also impede India's attainment of independence.

'Communal interest replaces the National interest in man. It must be remembered that the national interest includes the community interest also'.[43]

---

40. Tiru. Vi. Ka., Tiru. Vi. Ka. VĀLKAIKKRIPPUKKAL, page 236.
 " " INΓIYĀVUM VIṬUΓALAIUM, page 231-232.
41. Tiru. Vi. Ka., Tiru. Vi. Ka. VĀLKAIKKURIPPUKKAL, page 269.
42. Ibid page 269
43. Tiru. Vi. Ka., TAMIL CŌLAI ALLATU KAṬṬURAI ΓIRAṬṬU, Part I pages 89-90.

Many believed that communal representation would help the cause of the non-Brāmins. But it might probably, create jealousy among the non-Brāhmins themselves because of their anxieiy to compete for some of the best positions in Government. So, there might be further disharmony in society.[44] Further, he made it clear to the advocates of communal representation that the initiative to work for higher posts would also be no more, if it were to be adopted. This would result in inefficiency in the day to day administration of the country. Moreover it would lead to the perpetuation of communal differences.

> 'You are all aware of the demand for communal representation in all walks of life. Those who welcome it with the hope that it will enable the non-Brāhmins to occupy high positions in the Government are going to be decoived. But we must ponder whether this will solve the problem? Because, in the Governm ent there are very few executive posts to be offered for too many non-Brāhmin contestants. This will create unnecessary competition among non-Brāmins thomselves. In Tirunelveli there is a movemeut against the Veḷḷāḷā community as well as in other parts of South India against the Reddi community. In all communal conferences, resolutions are passed for their community representation, and if it happēns in all community conferences where will this lead to? If castes multiply into innumerable subcastes, when are we to achieve independence? Another aspect of the problem should also be considered now. The cry of the non-Brāhmin leaders, concerning the occupation of high posts in Government service by Brāhmins, is due to their education and hard work. By communal representation we cannot reduce their influence in any way, unless the non-Brāhmins are going to be affected more than anybody else. The little amount of incentive these people have, is going to be neglected

44. Tiru. Vi. Ka., CAMARACA TĪPAM, page 23.

by communal representation. Further in Legislatures only the non-Brāhmin Jamindars are going to be represented, while the majority of the non-Brāmin community is going to remain in the same level. Definitely, communal representation would prevent healthy competition between various communities. It would increase, further the factions in society.[45]

When T.V.K. presided over the 31st Annual Conference of the Tamilnad Congress, at Kāncīpuram, 35 miles south west of Madras City, on November 21st and 22nd, 1925, a resolution came to him in support of communal representation. T.V.K. not only rejected it but also explained to those attending the session, the harmful effects of such a resolution and appealed for their co-operation, to remove caste differences in political activity.

> 'In this conference communal feelings were stirred up more than ever before. I appeal to you to be free from such cursed feelings. I do not claim to be either a Brāhmin or a non-Brāhmin but always claim to be an Indian. I relinguished my teaching profession and joined the independence movement for two reasons. One was the detention of Annie Besant (1847–1933), and the other was the inauguration of the communal Justice party. If the communal differences continue between the non-Brāhmins and the Brāhmins I doubt very much if independence will be attained. So let us forget our petty communal differences, and inculcate the national spirit that we are all Indians. If we adopt a tolerant attitude in our day to day affairs, many of our problems will be solved ..... We have also passed a resolution on untouchability .... So long as this persists in society, I emphatically say that we won't attain independence ..... In Tamilnad unity will be achieved through the Tamil Language alone.[46]

45. Tiru. Vi. Ka., TAMIL CŌLAI ALLATU KAṬṬURAIT TIRAṬṬU, Part I pages. 124-125.
46. Tiru. Vi. Ka., Tiru. Vi. Ka. VĀLKAIKKURIPPUKKAL, pages 365-366.

Labour Movement

T.V.K. devoted most of his life-time, nearly 25 years, for the amelioration of the condition of the working classes. He served in various capacities in many labour unions in Madras. Through labour organisations also he led his crusade against the evils of the caste-system. He also guarded the labour unions in which he was associated from being influenced by the evils of the caste-system. Had the labour unions been influenced by caste considerations, the unity among the workers would have been wrecked; and the movement would have perished in its infancy. Under the able leadership and guidance of T.V.K. the entire labour class became united in their rank and file. However, in 1921, when the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills' strike was in full swing, some interested persons instigated caste feelings among the workers in order to break the strike. The leader of the Ādidrāvidā community, one Mr. Rājā, not only persuaded his people not to participate in the strike, but also pointed out to them that as a result of the strike, the higher caste people would benefit more than they and thus exhorted them to return to work. Persuaded by this malicious propaganda a few returned to the mills, but the majority were faithful to the cause of the labour movement, and pledged their whole-hearted support for the strike. Rājā, who happened to be a close friend of T.V.K. expressed the same opinion to T.V.K. Having heard this, T.V.K. said that the labour movement was a non-communal organisation. If it became powerful and well organised, caste and other considerations would be relegated to a secondary position.[47]

Conclusion :

T.V.K. worked for a casteless society through religious, political and labour organisations. He achieved some success through religious and labour organisations. Caste, which played a dominant role in religion at the beginning of this

47. Tiru. Vi. Ka., Tiru. Vi. Ka. VĀLKAIKKURIPPUKKAL, pages 573-574

century, later started playing also the same role in politics. When caste feelings were stirred up in Tamil society by the Justice Party, T.V.K. stressed the need for communal harmony in society through his political speeches. And it was mainly due to his counter-movement that the party lost its hold in Tamilnad. Later, when T.V.K. observed that the Congress party too indulged in rousing communal feelings, during the elections as well as at the time of forming ministries, he decided to quit politics to devote his future to social work. This finds clear expression in some of his works.

> The Congress also indulges in stirring communal feelings at the time of elections. If such is the fate of a non-communal organisation like the Congress, there should be no surprise if all democratic organisations in this country fall a prey to communalism.[48] In Congress rule, communal disturbances are very common. When men of narrow vision come to power, they freely express their petty feelings. Communal conflicts are not confined to the Brāhmins and non-Brāhmins alone. It is there among the different sects of Brāhmins themselves. To cite an incident, the Iyengārs of Srirangam openly accused the Vaṭakalai Vaishnavities, that they dominate the Tenkalai Vasihnavities in the political field because of their power and influence in the Ministry.[49]

In spite of these communal disturbances often erupting, T.V.K. firmly believed that the evils of the caste system would be wiped out from Tamil society in course of time, because he had an abiding faith in the cyclic order of Nature.[50] But he doubted very much whether his ambition of seeing a casteless Tamil society in his life-time, would be fulfilled. However, he believed that the future generation of youths would work towards that end. Therefore he sugges-

48. Tiru Vi. Ka. Intiyāvum Vituṭalaiyum, page 315 and 318.
49. Ibid page 318.
50. Tiru. Vi. Ka. Tamiḷ Cōlai allatu kaṭṭurait tiraṭṭu, Part I. page 94.

ted some ways and means in particular, to the youths of Tamilnad, to eradicate the caste system from Tamil society. His suggestions were:

1. On no account should consideration of high or low caste be entertained;

2. The choice of a teacher should not be based on caste, but should be on the strength of his character;

3. Untouchability should not be encouraged under any circumstance;

4. One should not associate oneself with any work which has a communal tinge;

5. All possible encouragement should be given to popularise inter-caste marriages, which alone will speed up the decline of the caste system;

6. Youngsters should be encouraged to tour foreign countries during their holidays so that they may see for themselves the fallacy of the caste system at home.[51]

51. Tiru. Vi. Ka., INTIYĀVUM VIṬUTALAIYUM, pages 40-41.
Tiru. Vi. Ka., TAMIL̲ TEN̲RAL ALLATU TALAMAIPPOL̲IVU, pages 18-19.
Tiru. Vi. Ka., CAMARACA TĪPAM, pages 18-19.

Concepts of Religion in Sangam Literature and in Devotional Literature*

S. ARUMUGA MUDALIAR

"Religion[1] at the present day has become a subject of critical and scientific enquiry of both theoretical and practical significance and attracted increasing attention." The reasons for this attitude are not far to seek. They are :— (1) the rapid progress of scientific knowledge and thought, (2) the deeper intellectual interest in the subject, (3) the wide-spread tendencies in all parts of the world to reform or reconstruct or even to replace religion by some body of thought, more rational and scientific and less superstitious, (4) effect of social, political, and international events of a sort which, in the past, have both influenced and been iufluenced by religion, whenever the ethical or moral value of activities or conditions is questioned, the value of religion is involved, (5) ultimately there arises problems of justice, human history, God and the universe involving problems of the relation between 'religious' and other ideas, the validity of the ordinary knowledge and practicable conceptions of 'experience.'

The word religion is derived from the Latin word Religere meaning "reread and reflected upon" or from the Latin word Religare having the idea of 'obligation', 'binding'. The term is defined in various ways, but the following definitions may be considered as reasonable. The simplest of these is of Taylor. (1) Belief in spiritual beings— (2) Durkheim—(The Elementary forms of the religious life). A religion is a united system of beliefs and practices relative

---

* Paper read on 23—12—63 at the 'Third Seminar and conference' of "Union for the Study of great Religions" at Annamalai university, Annamalai Nagar from 22—12—63 to 26—12—63.

1. Encyclopaedia of religion and Ethics Vol. 10, pages 662-693

to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden—beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community the church—temple or mosque—synagogue etc. (3) Galloway. (The Philosophy of religion)—" Religion is man's faith in a power beyond himself whereby he seeks to satisfy emotional needs and gain stabilility of life and which he expresses in acts of worship and service" (4) Ebaird (Evolution of religion). " A man's religion, if it is sincere is that consciousness in which he takes up a definite attitude to the world and gathers to a focus all the meaning of his life".

With these definitions of religion let us for a moment consider the coucepts of religion in Sangam literature and later Devotional Literature in Tamil. The Tamil equivalent of the term religion (Sanskrit மதம்)—is சமயம். 'சமை' probably is the root and may mean " that which is systematised and developed " properly.

The 3rd Sangam age with innumerable poets of all occupations strikes even the casual reader as an age of universal education and high thinking. It is considered as the golden age— The Augustan age of Tamil Literature and Culture—an age of creative imagination. The Thousands of verses composed by them were collected and codified in the forms of anthologies called " Pattu and Thohai " namely—" The Pattupattu " (the ten idylls) and the Ettuthohai, 8 works consisting of Narrinai, Kuruntohai, Patirrupattu, Paripadal, Kalithohai, Ainkurunuru, Ahananuru, Purananuru, and the Patinenkilkkanakku (18 works). The twin Epics consisting of Silappadikaram and Manimekalai—the first from the pen of one considered to be a Jain and the other from the pen of a Buddhist—closely followed the above anthologies.

These two mark an important stage in the history of Jainism and Buddhism in the south. " The defects which Tirugnanasambandar points out in Jainism and Buddhism were non-existent during this period. South Indian Jainism is sometimes accused of degrading women, but the Jain Epic really deifies the chaste woman and so does the Buddhist

epic Manimekalai where the girl born of the community of public women becomes the merciful saviour of the poor and the great teacher of the right path". (T.P.M. sixty fourth birth day commemoration volume pp. 110/63 20–21) "Manimekalai and Silappadikaram describe the philosophical discussions carried on by the followers of various schools of thought on the day of the national festival or Indira Vila in the Capital city of the Colas. Manimekalai gives us a picture of the conflicting philosophies and code of life popular among the people of these times and for the first time in the history of Indian thought gives us, in one of its chapters, a hand book of Indian Philosophies. From all these works it is possible to collect a clear and vivid picture of the state of religion in Tamilakam in those early centuries of the Christian era.

When we examine the condition of the religions, we find that several were prevailing simultaneously and amicably without animosity and enmity. Religions like Saivism, Vaishnavism (mixture of Brahminism in them), Jainism and Buddhism all these flourished side by side especially in the capital cities like Puhar,[2] Kanchipuram, Uraiyur, Madurai,[3] Karur etc., and in the moffusil regions, with temples, Viharas and monasteries for the various gods of these faiths like Siva, Muruga, Tirumal, Baladeva, Krishna, Korravai. Lord

---

2. சிலம்பு—இந்திர விழா ஊரெடுத்த காதை, 169—173.
   1. பிறவாயாக்கைப் பெரியோன் கோயில்.
   2. அறுமுகச் செவ்வேள் அணிதிகழ் கோயில்.
   3. வால்வளை மேனி வாலியோன் (Balarama) கோயில்.
   4. நீலமேனி நெடியோன் (Vishnu திருமால்) கோயில்.
   5. மாலை வெண்குடை மன்னவன் (Indra) கோயில்.
   6. அறவோர் பள்ளியு மறனோம் படையும் (அருகர் புத்தர் பள்ளிகள்).
   7. மதுரைக்காஞ்சி.
   8. பத்தினி தேவிக் கோயில்.
   9. கார்த்திகை & திருவாதிரை, இந்திர விழா முதலிய திருவிழாக்கள்.

3. மதுரையில் இந்திரவிழா :

   நுதல்விழி நாட்டத் திறையோன் கோயிலும்
   உவணச் சேவல் உயர்த்தோன் நியமும்
   மேழி வலனுயர்த்த வெள்ளை நகரமும்
   கோழிச்சேவல் கொடியோன் கோட்டம்.

Ganapathi is not heard of in these days. He appears on the scene only after the 7th century A.D. No ill-will or hatred existed between these religions but only cordiality and sociability. Religious tolerance was the key-note of the relationship that existed between the various religious communities. There was religious toleration, and the spirit of free enquiry or the liberty of the human understanding. The monarchs themselves encouraged religious discussions inviting teachers of all religious sects and arranging for them in public halls, (பட்டிமன்றம்), encouraging them to preach their own doctrines during festivals. They protected impartially the temples and monasteries of all sects. Though believing in the doctrines of a particular sect, they cautiously avoided interfering with the rites and ceremonies of rival faiths. This religious liberty had a great and salutary influence upon the intellectual and moral development of the Tamils. In Manimekalai, we find, that, in the Indiravila, in the Pattimanram, that was held, all the religious sects, with Manimekalai as the head, took part in the expositions of their respective faiths.

As usual amongst all nations—ancient and modern—the *philosophical doctrines of the Tamils were far apart from the popular religious beliefs and ceremonies.* While the learned few with an earnest mind of deep research attempted to obtain correct notions of the causes and consequences of existence, the masses whose untutored minds could not conceive nature as a whole took a low and sensual view of life, and worshipped a number of gods and goddesses. The semi-barbarous tribes who were mostly addicted to war and bloodshed had ferocious and savage deities whose altars reeked with the blood of slaughtered animals. Communities who were more civilised and had cultivated arts of peace worshipped milder gods who were content with offerings of fruits, flowers, rice, incense etc. More advanced societies whose cultured mind could realise abstract ideas such as the reign of law (aṟam or Dharma) and the Unity of nature, endeavoured to conform their lives to supreme moral intelligence, which rules the universe.

This is exactly the picture we could glean from Sangam works about the state of religion among the people.

Long before the Sangam days, in the days that preceded it according to the earliest Tamil grammatical work Tolkappiyam, the Tamilians had regional gods for each of the natural regions—Kurinji, Mullai, Marutham, Neithal and Palai—(composite region of Mullai and Kurinji). Tolkappiyam states that Mayon (Tirumal), Seyon (Murugan), Vendan (Indiran) and Varunan, were respectively the gods of Mullai, Kurinji, Marutham and Neithal, while it is said that Korravai (Kali) was the goddess for the composite region of Palai.

Apart from these, as already remarked, there was belief in one higher force above all these-omnipresent in all Nature and Human Nature, which is called by the name of இறை (that which settles in all—இறு = to settle) or கடவுள் that which transcends all கட = கடந்துசெல், தாண்டிச்செல், அப்பாற்செல் to transcend, or கந்தழி = பற்றுக் கோடின்றித் தானாக இருப்பது—that which exists without support.

Among the religious beliefs and ceremonies followed by various communities, the following typical ones may be mentioned :—

(1) *The Eyinar* of Palai worshipped the dreaded goddess Korravai (equated with Kali), and sacrificed buffaloes at her shrine. She had matted hair, shining skin of cobra, carved tusk of boar in her hair resembling the crescent—string of tiger's teeth, striped skin of tiger, bow, stag to ride, drums and pipes. The priestess propitiated her thus : "The cattle sheds in the villages around us are all full of oxen—but the yards of the Eyinar who should live by robbery and plunder are empty... If you do not offer the sacrifice due to her who rides the stag she will not bless your bows with victory." Parrots, wild fowls, peacocks, perfumed pastes, powders, fragrant sandal, boiled bears and grains and oblations of rice mixed with blood and flesh were offered.[4]

4. Silappadikaram, XII—22-39

Soldiers and Kings joined hands in these offerings. Some warriors even offered their heads. Kali danced with Siva—so much was she dreaded that when once the doors of her temple remained closed and could not be opened, the Pandiyan King believed it to be a token of displeasure and prayed for her mercy and appeased her wrath by granting the revenue of 2 villages for expenses for her worship.[5] Some of the lower classes (as well as Nagas) worshipped stones, springs etc. In Kaviripumpattinam a stone was set up in the public square visited by those suffering from effects of poison, witchcraft or venomous bites.

There was also a spring, which cured the defects of all the deaf, dumb, dwarfs, lepers, and hunchbacks who bathed in it. Sacred Trees[6] were also worshipped.

(2) *The hunters* and hill tribes worshipped the heroic war-god Muruga with 12 arms and six faces at shrines on the top of hills and mountains and dense forests. He had a Vel (Lance)—used as weapon. His priest carried the lance and was known as Velan—a lancer. The dance in honour of this god was குன்றக்குரவை. His features and exploits are vividly described in Tiru Muruharruppadai and Skanda Purana (Sanskrit) and in Tamil Kandapuranam.

(3) *The shepherd classes* (ஆயர்—பொதுவர். இடையர்—முல்லைநிலமக்கள்) worshipped their national hero, Mayon—Tirumal (மாயோன்—திருமால்) the black coloured god and his avatar Krishna and his elder borther Balarama.

(4) *The Barathavar or fisher folk* whose region is Neithal worshipped, according to Tolkappiyam, Varunan (வருணன்) They planted the vertibral bone—back bone—of the whale சுறுமீன் and established வருணன் (ஆவாகனம்) in it and worshipped him (பட்டினப்பாலை—சினைச்சுறுவின் கோடுநட்டு—86-87).

5. Silappadikaram, XX—37-40 and XXIII—113-125.

6. நற்றிணை,—கடவுள் ஆலம் 343—கடவுள் மரத்த—அகம் 2701 புறம் 199—கடவுள் ஆலம்,

There was also the practice of erecting tomb-stones (நடுகல்) over the buried body of warriors, slain in battle-field, and worshipping them, decorating them with peacock feathers and offering toddy[7] and other edibles.

Such were some of the religious practices obtaining in the days of the 3rd Sangam. The other favourite gods mentioned were Brahma and Siva. The term கந்துடைப்பொதியில் in பட்டினப்பாலை[8] may be taken to mean Linga worship. Siva is mentioned in many places in Puram. Avvai[9] blessed Adikaman wishing him long life even as "நீலமணி மிடற்றொருவன்போல்". பரிபாடல் calls him "கறைமிடற்றண்ணல்" and "பைங்கட் பார்ப்பான்". மலைபடுகடாம் calls him (83)—"காரியுண்டிக் கடவுள்".—ஆலமர் கடவுள் also is Siva. Silappadikaram calls him பிறவாயாக்கைப்பெரியோன்[10] and refers to him again in கால்கோட்காதை.[11]

Tirumal was another favourite God in Sangam days. Mention is made of பூவைநிலை in which Kings are compared to him—in Tolkappiyam. He is described as 'ஆடகமாடத் தறிதுயிலமர்வோன்'. The Tirumal in Tiruvarangam and

---

7. ஆடவர் பெயரும் பீடும் எழுதி அதர் தொறும்
   (அ) பீலி சூட்டிய பிறங்குநிலை நடுகல்—அகம் 131.
   (ஆ) கல்லே பரவி னல்லது கடவுளும்
   நெல்லுகுத்து பரவலும் இலவே.—புறம் 335.
   இரும்பறை இலவல சேறியாயின்
   தொழாதனை கழிதல் ஓம்புமதி—புறம் 262.
   (Don't avoid worshipping the tomb-stone)
   அந்நடுகல்லை வணங்கினுல் கொடுங்கானம்
   மழை பெய்தலால் குளிரும்.
8. பட்டினப்பாலை—249.
9. புறம்—55 & 56.
10. இந்திரவிழா ஊரெடுத்த காதை.
11. கால்கோள்—(அ) தெண்ணீர்க்கந்த செஞ்சடைக்
   கடவுள் வண்ணச் சேவடி.
   (ஆ) நிலவுக் கதிர் முடித்த
   நீளிருஞ்சென்னி
   உலகு பொதி உருவத்
   துயர்ந்தோன் சேவடி 54—55.

Tiruvenkatam are reverentially mentioned by Madala Maraiyon in Silappadikaram காடுகாண்காதை.[12]

From the foregoing picture it will be seen that there has been even in the days of Tolkappiyam and subsequently in the days of the last Sangam in the early centuries of the Xian era an admixture of the worship of the gods of the Vedio Pantheon of the Aryans, who slowly spread to the south of the Vindhiyas, and the local Dravidian Tamil gods and goddesses and religious beliefs and ceremonies. Sanskrit priests and scholars were patronised by Tamil Kings. They settled them in flourishing villages given to them as grants without revenue cess—usually called முற்றூட்டு, இறையிலி etc. These villages were later called சதுர்வேதி மங்கலம். Some Scholars became ministers of Kings or their personal friends and advisers. They were put in charge of temple worship and Pujas. Typical examples of this may be found in Madala Maraiyon[13] advising *Cheran Senguttuvan on*

---

12. காடுகாண் காதை :—

நீலமேக நெடும் பொற் குன்றத்துப்
பால்விரிந்தகலாது படிந்தது போல
ஆயிரம் விரித்தெழு தலையுடையருந்திறற்
பாயற் பள்ளி பலர் தொழுதேத்த
விரிதிரை காவிரி வியன்பெருந் துருத்தித்
திருவமர் மார்பன் கடந்த வண்ணமும் (35–40)

வீங்கு நீரருவி வேங்கடமென்னும்
ஓங்குயர் மலைத் துச்சி மீமிசை
விரிகதிர் ஞாயிறும் திங்களும் விளங்கி
இருமருங் கோங்கிய இடை நிலைத்தானத்து
மின்னுக் கோடியுடுத்து விளங்குவிற் பூண்டு
நன்னிற மேக நின்றது போலப்
பகையணங் காழியும் பால்வெண் சங்கமும்
தகைபெறு தாமரைக் கையின் ஏந்தி
நலங்கிளர் ஆர மார்பிற் பூண்டு
பொலம் பூவாடையிற் பொலிந்து தோன்றிய
செங்கண் நெடியோன் நின்ற வண்ணமும். (41-51)

13. (அ) 125-133 மண்ணாள் வேந்தே நின் வாணாட்கள்
தண்ணான் பொருநை மணலினுஞ் சிறக்க
அகழ்கடல் ஞாலம் ஆள்வோய் வாழி
இகழா தென்சொற் கேட்டல் வேண்டும்
வையங் காவல் பூண்டநின் நல்யாண்டு
ஐயைந் திரட்டி சென்றதற் பின்னும்
அறக்கள வேள்வி செய்யா தியாங்கணும்
மறக்கள வேள்வி செய்வோ யாயினை

heavenly matters as a friend, philosopher and guide. *Kapilar similarly advised King Pari Vallal.*

These priests and ministers advised Tamil Kings to perform the various Vedic sacrifices thus attempting a fusion of the Vedic rites and religion and those prevailing in the Tamilakam of those days. Sacrifices like Aswameda, Raja Suya etc., were performed by the Tamil Kings on the advice of these priests. We hear of the Chola who performed the Raja Suya sacrifice called (Raja Suyam Vitta Perunurkilli). The Pandiyan King who performed a number of Vedic sacrifices was called Palyahasalai Mudu Kudumi Peru Vazhudhi. The Chola King Kulamurrathu Thunjiya Killai Valavan is said to be the lord of the land, where brahmins perform sacrifices. In his land sacrificial fires existed in plenty.

The Tamilians were also acquainted with the Vedic religion and religious rites.[14] Purananuru speaks of the four Vedas, the paths or Dharmas shown by four Vedas, the sacrificial fire of the twice-born brahmins etc.

Pattinappalai speaks of அவிர்சடை அந்தணர் அங்கி வேட்கும் ஆவுதி நறும்புகை, Kurinjippattu (225) of அந்தி அந்தணர் அயர, and Maduraikanji (656) of ஆதல் அந்தணர் வேதம்பாட. They speak of brahmins, Vedic rites etc. The brahmins were held in high esteem by the people and the kings of the land. They became temple priests. The eight kinds of Aryan marriages (பிரமம், பிரசாபத்தியம்,

---

(ஆ) 176–178 நான்மறை மருங்கின் வேள்விப் பார்ப்பான்
அருமறை மருங்கின் அரசர்க் கோங்கிய
பெருநல் வேள்வி நீசெயல் வேண்டும்.

(இ) 190–194 நான்மறை மரபின் நயந்தெரி நாவின்
கேள்வி முடித்த வேள்வி மாக்களா
மாடல மறையோன் சொல்லிய முறையின்
வேள்விச் சாந்தியின் விழாக்கொள ஏவி.

14. (அ) புறம் 2. நால்வேத நெறி திரியினும்
(ஆ) ,, 93. அறம்புரி கொள்கை நான்மறை முதல்வர்
(இ) ,, 361. கேள்வி முற்றிய வேள்வி அந்தணர்
(ஈ) ,, 367. ஒன்றுபுரிந்தடங்கிய இருபிறப்பாளர்
(உ) ,, 368. அவிர்சடை அந்தணர்.

ஆரிடம், தெய்வம், கந்தர்வம், ஆசுரம், ராக்ஷஸம், பைசாசம்) also were equated with Tamil marriage systems by Tolkappiar and his commentators.

In Irayanar Kalaviyal, Kalavu was equated with Gandharvam and Kaikilai and Perunthinai with the other seven Aryan marriages. Even gods and goddesses of the Vedic Pantheon came to be identified with Tamil gods and goddesses. Siva who was worshipped as Lingam here was equated with Rudra of the Vedas and the attributes of Rudra like his destroying aspect, his abode of the cremation ground, his smearing of the ashes of the mayana, his dance there, his garland of skulls etc., were all attributed to Siva also. The Tamil goddess Korravai of the Pālai residents, Eyinar, was made the Vedic goddess of Durga and wife of Siva. Muruka the Tamil god of the hill tracts was identified with Karthikeya, fostered by the six Kartikai constellations and made Shanmuga, Skanda or Subramanya. Deivayanai daughter of Indra was made his wife. The Thirumal or Mayon of the forest region of Tamilakam became, Vishnu. Varuna of Neithal region became Varuna of the Vedic religion. Vendan of the agricultural region was equated with Indra. Sanskrit came to be called "Deva Basha", the language of the gods.

Tēvāram, Tiruvāchakam, Tiruvisaippā, Tiruppallāndu, Tirumantiram, Patinoram Tirumarai and Nālāyiram belong to the age of the Pallavas. The period roughly 600–900 A.D. may be described as the age of the religious revival and the age of devotional literature. After the Sangam age, there came a period of darkness for about 3 centuries due to the Kalabra Interregnum. The Buddhist and Jain religions which were till then peaceful and loving neighbour, began to predominate and expand very much at the expense of the native Saiva and Vaishnava faiths during the Pallava age. They spread rapidly in the south, with settlements in Kanchi, Kongunadu and Madurai. Both the Buddhists and Jains were great Sanskrit scholars and while they learned also the language of the soil, Tamil, became scholars in it and wrote works in it, they did not merely import Buddhist and Jain ideas and ideologies and doctrines

into Tamil Literature, but were also responsible for a large influx of Sanskrit and Pali words, idioms and phrases into the Tamil language.

They gradually exercised potential influence on the Kings and chieftains as well. In the hey-day of the Pallava rule from the beginning of the 7th century A.D. their influence was at its zenith. King Mahendravarman (600 A.D.-630) became himself a Jain, and encouraged Jainism very much. If the story of his persecution[15] of Thirunavukkarasar who reverted to Saivism from Jainism,[16] to which he had been attracted in his early life is correct, then we may safely conclude that there would have been frequent conversions of Saivas and Vaishnavas to the Buddhist and Jain faiths and vice versa. It is strange that this King who persecuted Appar, was himself converted, in turn, to Saivism by the same Appar himself. The devotees of Siva and Vishnu looked at these religious conversions with consternation and horror and wanted to check the spread of these faiths before it was too late and revive their faiths. It was first at this time that the Saivite and Vaishnavite saints—Nayanmars and Alvars came on the scene and popularised their faiths. Travelling from one place to another place of pilgrimage with their followers and devotees, singing the praise of their lords, Siva and Vishnu, later collected and codified as Tevara Tirumuraikal (1-7) and Nalayira Divya Prabandam, these Saivite

---

15. திருநாவுக்கரசர் தேவாரம்—(1) நமச்சிவாயத்திருப்பதிகம்—1.
" " (2) திருநளிபள்ளித் திருப்பதிகம்—5. வரி 3-4.
" " (3) திருநீலக்குடி பதிகம்—7.

16. திருநாவுக்கரசர் தேவாரம் (1) திருவாரூர் பழமொழிப் பத்து—10 கரும்பு & இரும்பு.

The term கரும்பு இருக்க இரும்பு கடித்து is taken to denote a pathetic reference to his leaving his original faith of Saivism (கரும்பு - Sugarcane) and adopting the foreign faith Jainism (இரும்பு - Iron). In fact the terms—இன்காய் in verse (1) அறம் & மறம் (3) விளக்கு & மின்மினி in (7) தவம் & அவம் (9) are taken to refer to these faiths respectively.

(2) திருச்செங்காட்டங்குடி—4 வரிகள் 3-4.
(3) திருவையாறு குண்டனும் சமணரோடு—6, 7, 54, 32 & 8.
(4) திருப்புகலூர் திருநேரிசை—4.

and Vaishnavite Acharyas spread the message of Mukti through Bakti Cult. These works and the other Saivite devotional literature like Tiruvisaippa etc., and Tiruppallandu of the Pallavar and Chola period roughly from 600 to 1000 A.D. constituted the religious revival. From a reading of these canons we can envisage the religious beliefs, practices, the various mythological and puranic stories and feats of these gods, the mode of worship, the religious doctrines and philosophical ideas of these religious doctrines etc. We can also see that it was a continuous *fight and enmity*[17] * between the Saivites and the Vaishnavites, between the Saivites and Buddhists and Jains and between the Vaishnavites and Buddhists and Jains.

The hymns of some of these Nayanmars and Alwars refer specifically to some Kings or personalities or political incidents which go a long way in fixing the ages in which they lived.[18] The Tevaram hymns sung by the three saints Appar (also called) Tirunavukkarasar, Tirugnanasambandar and Sundaramurti of this period collected and codified by Nambiyandar Nambi in the later half of the 10th century into the first Seven Saivite Tirumurais or sacred books—Sambandar 1–3, Appar 4–6 and Sundarar 7 are the devotional and melodious hymns singing the praise of Lord Siva, his omnipotence, omnipresence, his eternal nature beyond the limits of time and space and other godly attributes in sweet, elegant, chaste, and dignified metre set to music (Pan). Unlike other works,

---

17.* (அ) திருமழிசை ஆழ்வார்—(1) நான்முகன் திருவந்தாதி— 6
(2) ,, ,, 14
(3) ,, ,, 26
(4) ,, ,, 84
(5) சந்த விருத்தம் 66

(ஆ) திருநாவுக்கரசர்—(See 23 of 79th verses in each of his Padikams) Vishnu.

(இ) திருஞானசம்பந்தர்—9th verse of all padikams.

18. (1) Tirunavukkarasar—King Mahendravarman.
(2) Tirugnana Sambandar—Arikesari.
(3) Sundarar—Kodavarkan Kalar Singan.
(4) Manickavasagar—Kingvaragema.
(5) Nammalvar—Parantaka Netunjadayan.
(6) Tirumangai Alvar—Nandivarman and Vairamegan.

written after much labour and deliberation these are spontaneous outbursts (அருட்பாடல், அருளிச்செயல்) of the religious zeal and faith in and love for god of these three saints. These were sung generally on Lord Siva of the various temples situated in the sacred places of pilgrimage in the length and breadth of Tamilakam, and even beyond in Ceylon, Andhrapradesh, Kerala and Kailas, most of which they visited and some others away from Tamilakam not in person but mentally. These songs were generally in the form of tens or pathikams. Though those of Sundarar and Sambandar contained eleven songs, in the eleventh song their practice was to record their names as the authors thereof (திருக்கடைக் காப்பு). These Tevaram songs similar to the other Tirumurais like திருவாசகம், திருமந்திரம், திருவிசைப்பா etc., are the manifestations of the popular Bakti cult in Saivism in the South. It is said that not merely from the point of melody, set to music or Pan, rhythm and sweetness but also from the point of view of emotional expression, religious fervour and literary excellence, these hymns stand out supreme. They hold Siva as the lord of the Universe, the doer of ஐந்தொழில்—Pancha Krtya—creation ஆக்கல் preservation அளித்தல், Destruction அழித்தல், Grace அருளல், Concealment மறைத்தல் as works of the cosmic dancer and in the other forms of Siva as Dakshinamurthy, Kalyanasundarar, Bikshadanamurthy, Chandrasekarar, Somaskandar, Ardhnaresvarar etc. The worship in the temples, the festivals that are celebrated therein, the particular miracles done in particular temples described in the Sthala puranas are all echoed in these hymns. So much so that from these one can have an idea and a picture of the religious concepts of those days relating to Saivism. The great Siva shrines are the outward expressions of the religion of aesthetics. They are not merely a Sermon in stones but the whole of Tamil culture and philosophy are set forth in eloquent stones there. They were raised by the devout Chola Emperor who endowed them with much property and encouraged the study of arts and philosophy in them. Th^ Tantra school is not limited to any one place in India but the Agamas are peculiarly

South Indian. Many of them refer to Kanchi and Tiruvalankâdu and as such, one may not be wrong in concluding that they were compiled in Southern country for the regulation of the worship in Siva temples. Srikanta and Haradatta wrote commentaries on the Brahma Sutra expounding the Saivite Philosophy as the true import of *Badarayana's* work. Appaya Dikshitar the mediaeval scholar has written a commentary (Sivarka Mani Dipika) on the Brahma Sutra Bashya of Sankara. Various Sivacharyas wrote commentaries on the Agamas. The great Umapathi Sivam wrote the commentary on the Paushkaragama. Along with the Sivacharyas who flourished in the Pallava period, the Vaishnavite saints also flourished. The worship of Vishnu is claimed to be as old as Tholkappiyam and the Vedas and passed through the Vedic and the Puranic stages. The epics of Ramayana and Maha Bharata and puranas like the Vishnu and Bhagavata describing the miracles and wonderful feats of the various incarnations of Vishnu, served as the fountains of inspiration for the Alvars or men of great Bakthi and deep wisdom. The hymns sung by them like their counterparts, the Nayanmars, were collected and ordered to be codified in one volume, 'The Nālayira Divya Prabandam'. Nathamuni was a contemporary of Nambiandar Nambi and what Nambi did for Saivism, Nathamuni did for Vaishnavism. The Alvars are twelve in number. Though there were only 10 at first, Andal and Mathurakavi were also included in the list of Alvars. Their lives are recorded traditionally in Guruparambarai, or the genealogy of Gurus and in Alvar Vaipavam or the chronicle of the Alvars. The Vaishnavite revivalism was inaugurated in all parts of Tamilakam—Periyalvar (1), Andal (2), Nammalvar (3) and Madurakavi (4) in the Pandya country, Mutal Alvar or Poykai Alvar (5), Putattalvar (6) and Periyalvar (7) and Tirumalisai Alvar (8) in the Tondainadu or Pallava country, Tirupanalvar (9) Tondār Adippodi (10) and Tirumangai (11) Alvars in the Chola country and Kulasekarar (12) in the Chera country. Of the 4000 and odd hymns Nammalvar (திருவாய்மொழி—4th thousand—1002 and) Tirumangai (Alvar—

2nd thousand—1134) alone contributed more than half. Like the Tevaram and Tiruvisaippa authors these alvars also travelled to Vaishnavite places of pilgrimage and sang spontaneously on the temples and Lord Vishnu of the temples they visited. From these also, we can have an idea of the religious concepts of the times relating to Vaishnavism. These are manifestations of the Bakti cult in Vaishnavism in the South. Not merely in point of melody set to music, rhythm and sweetness but also from the point of view of emotional expression, religious beliefs, literary flavour and excellence, these hymns like the Tirumurais stand out supreme. They hold out Vishnu as the Lord of the Universe, the creator, sustainer and destroyer and give the other forms of Vishnu like, Krishna, Balarama, Rama, Narasimha, Ananta Sayanam etc. The worship in the temples, the festivals that are celebrated therein and the miracles that occurred in them are all echoed in these hymns, so that we can clearly have a picture of the religious concepts of the times pertaining to Vaishnavism. Nammalvar refers to the other conflicting religious[19] orders. The Agamas relating to temple worship and regulations were written. These hymns formed the basis for the philosophy of Visishtadvaita of Ramanuja, who in the place of Nirguna (attributeless) Brahman, postulated by Sankara, evolved a god of beauteous form and figure full of all auspicious and good qualities (Kalyana gunas).

Vaishnavite philosophy developed in Tamil land from the times of the hymns of these Alvars, continued to flourish for many centuries. Without a knowledge of Tamil it is not possible to be a thorough master of this philosophy and thus arose the term of 'Ubhya Vedanta'. The tradition continues as a live stream from generation to generation, from Nammalvar, Madurakavi, Nathamuni, Alavandar, Tirukkottiyur Nambi, Ramanuja, Kurathalvar, Bhattar, Nandiyar, Nampillai, Pillai Lokacharyar and Alakiya

---

19. இலிங்கத்திட்ட புராணத்தீரும் சமணரும் சாக்கியரும்
(திருவாய்மொழி 4—பதிகம் 10—பாடல் 5).

Maravala Nayanar to Manavala Mamunikal and *his disciples of Tenkalai School.* So does it continuously run through Vedanta Desika and others of the Vadakalai School. These works have been written both in Tamil and in Sanskrit.

The great Ramanuja known as the Tiruppavai Jeeyar planned to write a commentary on Nammalvar as one of his life's mission, but finding himself occupied with his philosophical and other religious engagements, could not fulfil this sacred duty.

Nampillai's Ita commentary on Nammalvar is unique. It has been rendered in Tamil in ten volumes, by B. R. Purushothama Naidu of Madras University. Acharya Hirudaya by Alakiya Manavala Nayanar is a masterly survey of the philosophy of Nammalvar's poems ranking higher than the Upanishads. This is also now beiñg rendered in Tamil by the same scholar. Vedanta Desikan apart from innumerable Sanskrit works of his, had written in Tamil on the Esoteric doctrines of Vaishnava who tries to establish a '*Tontakkulam' or a democracy of Vaishnavite service. A Kingdom of God on earth, recognising no caste as between the worshippers of God.* Ramananda and other Vaishnavite saints of north India are the followers of Ramanuja. Vaishnavites transliterate the Tamil songs of the Alvars in their respective mother-tongues and devotionally recite them every day in Malayalam, Telugu, Kannada and throughout India.

During the closing years of the Imperial Chola rule, Saiva Siddhanta Philosophy came to be written in Tamil. *Sivagnana Bodham*[20] though alleged to be a translation, is really an original contribution of Meykanda Sivam of Tiruvennainallur of the *13th century.* It is the most authoritative and greatest of all the Saivite philosophical works. It is the first attempt at a systematic and codified account of the tenets of Tamil Saivism consisting of 12 aphorisms (Narpas or Sutras). The Saiva Siddhanta Philosophy "is the choicest product of the Dravidian intellect,

20. 14 சாத்திரங்கள்.

and the most elaborate, influential and undoubtedly the most intrinsically valuable of all religious philosophy in India", according to Dr. Pope. The Rev. Goudi is of opinion that 'the system possesses the merit of great antiquity' and that "in the religious world the Saiva system is the heir to all that is most ancient in South India". It is the religion of the Tamil people, by the side of which every other form is comparatively of foreign and recent origin. As a system of religious thought, as an expression of faith and life, the Saiva system is by far the best that South India possesses". Equally appreciative is the opinion of Prof. MaxMuller who wrote, "in the South of India there exists a philosophic literature which, though it shows clear traces of Sanskrit influence containing also original indigenous elements of great beauty and of importance for historical purposes".

The religious revival of the four great Saiva Acharyas gave an impetus to the composition of the 14 Saiva Siddhanta Sastras containing the tenets of the Saiva Siddhanta Philosophy culled out from the Saivite devotional Literature that went before. Sivagnana Bodham bears that name rightly because it deals in a nut-shell with the philosophy that 'Sivam is one, gnanam is knowledge of its true nature, and Bodham is the realisation of that nature". Its leading thought is therefore that the highest love, Para Bakthi is based on the soul's recognition of non-duality and of its debt to the lord and that the lord standing non-dual with the soul enables it not only to know external objects but also to know Him and Self. That there are Sanskrit influences in the Bodham itself, is borne out by an old stanza whose idea runs in English thus, "The Veda is the cow, its milk is the true Agama, the Tamil sung by the four is the ghee extracted from it and the virtue of the Tamil work of the Meykandar of the celebrated city Vennai is the fine taste of the ghee". It clearly proves the trend of the Sanskrit and Tamil thought of the times influencing each other and the key position held by this work in the Literature of Tamil Saivism. The author has added Vartikas of his own, explaining and illustrating the argument of each of the Sutrams

and giving its meanings. The famous logician and philosopher poet, Sivagnana Munivar of Tiruvavaduturai Adhinam of 18th century A.D. wrote elaborate commentary on it, hailed as the 'Dravida Maha Bashyam' and the author is rightly hailed as the "Dravida Maha Bashya Kartar".

The Bodham was preceded by two short works *Tiruvuntiyar* (2) and *Tirukakalirrupadiyar* (3) by two authors—teacher and disciple. Both go by the same name though distinguished by the place to which they belonged. Tiruvundiyar was written by Uyyavanda Deva Nayanar of Tiruvialur while Tirukalliruppadiyar was written by Uyyavanda Deva Nayanar of Tirukkadavur.

After Sivagnana Bodham the next work of Importance in the hierarchy of Saiva Siddhanta works is the *Sivagnana Sittiyar* (4) of Arulnandi Sivacharyar, a disciple of Meykandar. It is a comprehensive statement of the doctrine Suppakkam preceded by a discussion of the rival systems (Para pakkam) of which no fewer than 41 including 4 schools of Buddhism and 2 of Jainism are passed under reference. Since Meykandar's work, though most authoritative, is too cryptic and does not explain the position of Saivism vis-a-vis other systems, Sivagnana Sittiyar is read very widely and has formed the subject of many commentaries.

Irupa Irupahtu (5) owes its 20 verses in alternate use of 2 metres namely venba metre and asiriya metre in the form of a dialogue between the teacher Meikandar and disciple Arulnandhi. *Unmai Vilakkam* (6) of Manavasakam Kadandar is the simplest of Siddhanta works.

Umapathi Sivachariyar of Korravankudi near Chidambaram who lived at the close of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century A.D. wrote the all remaining 8 works completing the total of 14 Siddhanta Sastras. They are (*1*) *Sivapragasam,* (*2*) *Tiruvarutpayan,* (*3*) *Vināvenba,* (*4*) *Porrippahrodai,* (*5*) *Kodikavi 11,* (*6*) *Nenju Vidu Thūthu 12,* (*7*) *Unmai Neri Vilakkam and* (*8*) *Sangarpa-nirākaranam.*

The Advaita philosophy of Sankara in Tamil Vedantic School became popular from the 8th century onwards. Apart from the translations of the Geetha, and ஞானவாசிட்டம் and other works, there sprang up original works in Tamil like கைவல்ய நவநீதம், works of சொருபனூர்—தத்துவராயர் and குமாரதேவர் which are of great literary merit.

Thus even a casual survey of the literary works of the 3rd Sangam age and the age of Religious revival (600 to 900 A.D.) will reveal ample literary evidence for a proper understanding and estimate of the religious concepts of the times and further details regarding the same. This will be useful for a comparative study of religions of the age in other parts of the world leading to religious integration of the world community. It sheds welcome light on the following facts :—

(1) The works of the Sangam age were collected and codified as Pattupattu, Ettuttohai and Patinenkil Kanakku and the twin epics of Silappadikaram and Manimekalai followed them. The eleven Saiva Tirumurais and Nalayira Divya Prabandam followed them in the Age of the Pallavas which was an age of religious revival in Tamilakam.

(2) The religious faiths in Sangam age—Saivism, Vaishnavism, Jainism and Buddhism flourished side by side with toleration and human understanding, following and preaching the doctrines of their respective faith without animosity.

(3) There was enmity between these faiths in the Age of the Pallavas.

(4) There was realisation of God and religious concepts of the Almighty transcendental and at the same time imminent god and his various forms like Siva, Vishnu, Muruga, Korravai, Vendan (Indira), Krishna, Bala Rama, Varuna etc.—on a regional basis like Kurinji, Mullai, Marutham, Palai and Neital, even from the days of Tolkappiyam followed in Sangam works—and in later devotional literature.

(5) The later devotional literature on Siva and Vishnu along with the devotional portion of Sangam works, spread the message of Mukti through Bakti and devotional songs of a soul-stirring and heart-touching nature set to music and melody. These formed the Tottira Literature out of which the Saiva Siddhanta and Visishtadvaita of the Saivites and Vaishnavites developed later, expounded by Meikandar and Ramanujar.

(6) These texts reveal the various forms of icons, modes of worship, festivals and religious practices etc., of the times.

Auxiliary Verbs in Tamil

S. A. PILLAI

0·0. Every language is changing. Tamil is not an exception to this universal truth and this can best be seen when one looks into the history of Tamil language from the Sangam period to the middle and from the middle to the modern. Changes can be noticed in vocabulary, meaning, phonology and grammar, morphology and syntax.

0·1. The verbal system of Modern Tamil differs considerably from that of old and middle. In addition to many innovations like potential mood in expressions like *ceyyalaam* meaning "he she/it/they/they (neuter) may do" and permissive in *varaṭṭum* meaning "let him/her/it/they/they (neuter) come," etc., we find developments of new morphs which either replace the old ones or occur simultaneously with them as allomorphs. Forms like *ukaḷuntu*[1] meaning "it will jump," *acaii*[2] meaning "having stayed," *kaaṇku*[3] "I will see," *kaaṇṭum*[4] "we will see," and many others are obsolete now.

0·2. One can notice a very common tendency to replace some old verbs with certain nouns and appropriate verbs. Examples like

pakirntanar → pamku ^ {iṭṭanar / vaittanar} (V → N^V)

porutanar → poor ^ {iṭṭanar / ceytanar} (V → N^V)

meaning "they divided (something)," "they fought," respectively, are not quite uncommon in modern Tamil. Verbs such as *kaiviṭu* "leave," (*kai^viṭu*, N^V), eluntiru "stand, get up" (*eḻuntu^iru*, V^V), *meelpaar* "supervise" (*meel^paar*, clitic^V) are not too rare to be unnoticed. These phenomena need a careful and scientific analysis the result of which will give a clear picture of the structure of compound verbs in Tamil.

1. Puṟam 339.5
2. Puṟam 67 9, 141.3
3. Patiṟṟuppattu 16.9
4. Puṟam 173 9

1·1. Another striking change can also be noticed within the verb sequence itself. Many auxiliary verbs have been creeping into the verb sequence developing subtle nuances of meaning. The insertion of auxiliaries in the verb sequences gave rise to many moods and tenses (aspects). "The diverse languages have enriched it to some extent by various combinations introducing shades of aspect and tenses but generally without resulting in complete system," says Jules Bloch.[5] The purpose of the present paper is to describe some of the auxiliary verbs that are found within the verb sequence and to show the change that took place in the structure of the verb sequence.

1·2. Tamil positive verbs used to have only three tenses, the past, the present, and the future.[6]

vantaan	=	Came-he
varukiṟaan	=	Comes-he
varuvaan	=	Will come-he

1·3. The use of the verb *iru* meaning "sit, to be" as an auxiliary gave rise to more tenses: pluperfect, perfect, and future perfect and many moods. This auxiliary is added to the verbal participle of the main verb.

V_{vp}^ iru^

vantu^irunteen	=	I had come
vantu^irukkiṟeen	=	I have come
vantu^iruppeen	=	I shall/would have come
vantu^irukka	=	to have come
vantu^iruntu	=	having had come
vantu^irunta	=	who (which or that) had come
vantu^irukkira	=	who (which or that) has come
vantu^irukkum	=	who (which or that) shall have come
vantu^irukkaveeṇṭum	=	he/she/it/they/they (neuter) must have come
vantu^irukkalaam	=	he/she/it/they/they (neuter) might have come

5. The Grammatical Structure of Dravidian Languages. Jules Bloch, Translation, by Ramakrishna Ganesh Harshe, Poona, 1954. p. 90.

6. Tolkaapiyam, col, 200. Nannuul, 324.

1·31. -iru- is added to the negative verbal participle of the main verb too. It occurs in the negative forms like:

varaamal } ^iruntaal = if he/she/it/they/they (neuter)
varaatu } does/do not come

varaamal } ^irukka = not to come
varaatu }

varaamal } ^irukkalaam = he/she/it/they/they (neuter)
varaatu } may not come.

1·32. The defective verb *-uḷ* meaning "is" also denotes perfect tense. It is added to a verbal participle.

vantu^uḷḷatu = it has come

2·1. In old Tamil there was nothing in the verb sequence to express continuity of action. *-iru* prefixed by *-koṇṭu-* (*koṇṭiru*), when added to the verbal participle of the principal verb denotes continuous action in modern Tamil.

V_{vp}^koṇṭu^iru

paṭittu^koṇṭiruntaan	=	was studying-he
paṭittu^koṇṭirukkiṟan	=	is studying-he
paṭittu^koṇṭiruppan	=	will be studying-he
paṭittu^koṇṭirukka	=	to study continuously
paṭittu^koṇṭiruntu	=	having studied continuously
paṭittu^koṇṭirunta	=	who was studying
etc.		

2·2. The auxiliary *-koḷ-* often gives a reflexive meaning when it is added to the verbal participle of the main verb. (V_{vp}^Koḷ^)

pukaḻntu^koṇṭaan	=	he praised himself
peeci^koṇṭaarkaḷ	=	they spoke among themselves

2·3. *-koṇṭee* after a verbal participle denotes simultaneous action when it is followed by another verb.

V_{vp}^koṇṭee + V

paṭittu^koṇṭee + caappiṭṭeen = I ate while studying

One can very well notice the contrast between *paṭittukkoṇṭee vanteen* and *paṭittukkoṇṭu vanteen* which means either "having studied I came," or "after having studied, I came."

3·1. The verb *viṭu* "leave, let, forsake, etc.," is very often used as an auxiliary too. When it is added to the verbal participle (V_{vp}^viṭu^) it denotes certainty.

kaṇṭu^viṭṭaan	=	he has seen certainly in contrast with
kaṇṭaan	=	he saw
kaṇṭiruntaan	=	he has seen
kaṇṭu^viṭukiraan	=	he certainly sees
kaṇṭu^viṭuvaan	=	he will certainly see

3·12. *-viṭu* is used in the negative conditional too.

kaaṇaa^viṭṭaal = if (one) does not see

-viṭṭaal, here is used simply as a conditional marker. The verbal participle of this composite verb is used in the sense of "after."

kaṇṭuviṭṭu = after having seen

4·1. *pooṭu* meaning "put," used as an auxiliary, expresses certainty when added to the verbal participle. Though some scholars seem to think *-viṭu* and *-pooṭu* are somewhat in free variation, it appears that -pooṭu always occurs only with transitive verbs, e.g.

aṭittu^pooṭṭan = he has beaten

4·12. Like *-viṭṭu* in *aṭitu^viṭṭu* it also means "after"

aṭittu^pooṭṭu = after having beaten

5·1. The auxiliary verb *-poo-*:

(1) When it is added to the verbal participle it denotes both certainty and completeness, e.g.

cettu^poonaan = he died
uṭaintu^pooyiṟṟu = it was broken

In the positive it always occurs with intransitives. In the negatives it occurs with transitive too.

ceyyaamal^poonan = he didn't do

(2) When it is added to the infinitive of the principal verb, it (V_{inf}^poo) gives the meaning "about"

ceyya^poonaan = he was about to do

6·1. The verb *aaku*, which means "become," when added to the verbal participle, denotes completion of action of the main verb. e.g.

vantaayirru = he/she/it/they/they (neut.) has/have come.

7·1. *vaa* meaning "come" is also used as an auxiliary. Like the majority of the auxiliaries it is also added to the verbal participle and it denotes habitual continuation. e.g.

vaaḷntu^vantaan	=	he had been living
vaaḷntu^varukiran	=	he has been living
vaaḷntu^varuvan	=	he will be living

8·1. The verb *aruḷ* (grant, vouchsafe) also is used, as an auxiliary and when added to a verbal participle (V_{vp}^aruḷ) it denotes that the action of the verb is done by a very reverential and respectful person.

vantu^aruḷinaar = he came

9·1. *vai* meaning "place" denotes the causal, when it is preceded by the infinitive of the main verb. (V_{inf}^vai)

ceyya^vaittaan = he made (someone) do

10·1. *paar* meaning "see" is used as an auxiliary too. When it occurs after verbal participle and infinitive of the main verb it means "try" or "attempt." e.g.

ceytu^paarttaan	=	he had tried to do
ceyya^paartaan	=	he had tried to do

it can also mean "he would have done."

ceytu^paar	=	try to do
ceyya^paar	=	try to do

11·1. The verb *maaṭṭu** meaning "lock," "fasten," etc., is used as an auxiliary to denote the negative in the future. *maaṭṭeen* (maaṭṭ e e n) "I (will) not fasten," *maaṭṭoom* (maaṭṭ o o m) "we (will) not fasten," *maaṭṭiir* (maaṭṭ i i r) "you (her) (will) not fasten," *maaṭṭaay* (maaṭṭ a a y) "you

---

* The auxiliary verb *maaṭu* does not here mean "lock," "fasten," etc. as the learned author thinks. Nor does it denote the negative in the future, as he has stated. It is a verb meaning 'to do' (still used in Kannada) and the negation is denoted by the marker –aa, or –ee or –oo, as in the case of the verbal forms vaaraan, ceyyeen, unnoom, etc.

(sing.) will not fasten," etc., are inferred to have functioned as the negative forms of the verb *maaṭṭu* itself. (compare with *aaṭeen* "I (will) not dance," *aaṭoom* "we (will) not dance," etc.) In due course *maaṭṭu* became an auxiliary preceded by the infinitive of the main verb (V_{inf}^maaṭṭu) to denote negation. e.g.

vara^maaṭṭeen	=	I will not come
varamaaṭṭoom	=	we will not come
vantirukka^maaṭṭeen	=	I would have not come
varamaaṭṭaamal	=	without coming

12·1. The verb *paṭu* which means "experience," "suffer" functions as an auxiliary too when it occurs after the infinitive form of a verb (V_{inf} paṭu), and it denotes the passive. It should be mentioned that the main verb should always be a transitive. e.g.

kolla^paṭṭaan = he was killed

What has been said about *paṭu* holds good for the verb *peṟu* "receive" too.

kolla^peṟṟaan = he was killed

12·2. Many scholars maintain the view that the verb *uṇ* meaning "eat" also functions as an auxiliary to express the passive. The example which they show is

kolai^uṇṭaan = he was killed

It seems to me that the above expression is active rather than passive. *kolai* meaning "murder" (a verbal noun) can be treated as the accusative case base and *uṇ* as a regular verb. *kolai uṇṭaan* literally means "he ate murder," i.e., "he was killed." The structure and the function of this expression is exactly like those of many other expressions like

aṭi^koṇṭan = he received the blow

etc.[7]

12·3. I should perfectly agree with P. S. Subramanya Sastri[8] that "on the whole the genius of the Tamil language is to avoid the passive voice as far as possible." Unlike my

---

7. This was suggested by A. Kaamaaṭci in a paper on passive read in the Linguistic Club meeting at Trivandrum.

8. P. S. Subramanya Sastri, *History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil*, Madras, (1934) p. 177.

literary dialect there is no passive in my colloquial dialect. As it has been already noticed by Dr. Caldwell[9] and endorsed by P. S. Subramanya Sastri *paṭu* in words like *caappiṭṭa^ paaṭṭavan* which is equivalent to *caappiṭupavan* "one who eats or is accustomed to eat," denotes habitual continuity.

12·4. Some active expressions are mistakenly translated as passive by many of us, and therefore we conclude that Tamil active expressions denote the passive as well. For example, take a very common phrase:

paṭitta (1) paaṭam (2).

It is often translated as "the lesson which was read."

Let us reconstruct the kernal sentence from which paṭitta paaṭam is derived,

kaṇṇan (1) paaṭattai (2) paṭittaan (3)
Kaṇṇan (1) read (3) the lesson (2)

From this sentence we can derive two noun phrases; the head of one is *kaṇṇan* and that of the other is *paaṭam*.

1. paaṭattai (1) paṭitta (2) kaṇṇan (3)
   kaṇṇan (3) who read (2) the lesson (1)

2*a*. kaṇṇan (1) paṭitta (2) paaṭam (3)
   the lesson (3) that kaṇṇan read (1, 2)

2*b*. kaṇṇanaal (1) paṭikkappaṭṭa (2) paaṭam (3)
   the lesson (3) which was read (2) by Kaṇṇan (1)

12·5. We are concerned with 2*a* and 2*b*. Though they express the same idea, they are grammatically different. 2*a*. is an active form whereas 2*b*. is passive. Therefore whether the subject is explicit or implied (in 2*a*. kaṇṇan is the subject) it should always be translated (at least when we deal with grammatical functions and notions) as "the lesson that Kaṇṇan read" (whenever the subject is explicit) or "the lesson that (he/she/they) read." Translations into another language should not mislead grammarians in setting up grammatical categories and making grammatical categories and making grammatical statements. Every language has its own way of expressing ideas.

---

9. Rev. Robert Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*, Madras, (Reprint) 1961, p 467.

13·1. The structure of Tamil verb sequence (without auxiliaries) is simple and less complex. Reduced to its essentials the finite verb will be one of the following forms (with personal endings).

$$V_{stem}\wedge\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Tense}\\ \text{Negative}\end{matrix}\right\}\wedge\text{Person}\wedge\text{Numb. Gend.}\quad\text{e.g.}$$

va^nt^aa^n came–he
var^a^a^tu will not come–it

14·1. The addition of auxiliaries, as discussed above, makes the sequence comparatively complex. Two or more verb stems are put together in the sequence to give the subtle nuances of meaning. Some of the sequences are given below.

1. $V_s\wedge\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Tense}\\ \text{Negative}\end{matrix}\right\}\wedge\text{V.P.*}\wedge V_s\wedge\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Tense}\\ \text{Negative}\end{matrix}\right\}\wedge\text{Per}\wedge\text{Num. Gend.}$

e.g. va^nt^u^iru^nt^aa^n = had come–he
var^aa^mal^iru^nt^aa^n = had not come–he
var^aa^mal^iru–kk^aa^tu = will not remain without coming–it

2. $V_s\wedge a\wedge V_s\wedge a\wedge V_s\wedge$Per^Numb. Gen.

koll^a^paṭ^a^maaṭṭ^aa^n = (he) will not be killed

3. $V_s\wedge$Tense^u^$V_s\wedge a\wedge V_s\wedge$Per Numb. Gend.

va^nt^u^iru–kk^a^maaṭṭ^aa^n = (he) would have not come

4. $V_s\wedge a\wedge V_s\wedge$Tense^u^$V_s\wedge a\wedge V_s\wedge$Per^Numb. Gend.

koll^a^paṭ^ṭ^u^irukk^a^maaṭ^aa^n = (he) would have not been killed

15·1. The intrusion of auxiliaries is not a recent development in Tamil. In the old Tamil too, we can find one or two instances. But in modern Tamil more and more auxiliaries develop and give various shades of meaning, and this phenomenon is not yet complete.

* V.P. is verbal participle markers.

The Gloriosa Superba in Classical Poetry

DEVAPOOPATHY NADARAJAH

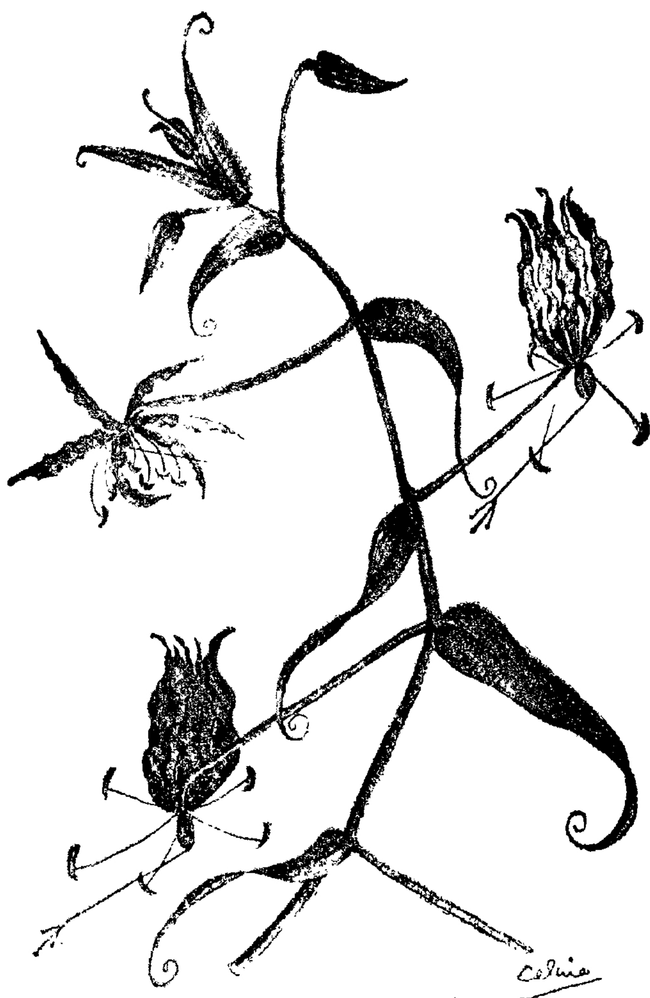
The *kāntaḷ* (the *Gloriosa Superba*) is a bulbous plant that flourishes in the rainy season. Since it generally blooms in November, the month of rain, it is called the "November blossom" (Kārtikaippū). The *Paripādal* refers to it as "the Gloriosa that is caused by the clouds".[1] It has a slender stem which climbs by tendril-like prolongations of the narrow, generally lanceolate leaves. The flowers which are borne in the upper leaf-axils are very handsome with six thin, wavy and reflexed petals that stand upright. As a bud, the flower looks light green and then yellow. When newly in bloom the bottom half of the petals is yellow while the top half is red. As days pass by, the petals fall to a horizontal position and the colour changes to scarlet and then to deep scarlet. Due to this change of colour it is referred to as either the "white gloriosa" or the "red gloriosa", as it fits the description. In Malaya, its lantern-like shape and flame-like colour has won for it the local name of 'Japanese Lantern'. Saṇkam poets, noticing this semblance in shape and colour have used them as apt similies in their poems :—

1. The flame-like gloriosa.[2]
2. The gloriosa blooming like flame.[3]

Hence its name "akniccalam", the movement of fire or flame. These petals also reminded the poets of the flames of a wick-lamp. A *Naṟṟiṇai* poem, while describing the events that occur at sunset, mentions that in the thickets the gloriosa holds up its flowers as lamps lit by nature at dusk.[4] The Scarlet blossoms may be described in everyday language

---

1. Paripādal 18 : 34-35. "கார் தோற்றும் காந்தள்"
2. Aham 218. "எரி மருள் தோன்றி"
3. Paripādal 11 : 21. தோன்றி தீயென மலர".
4. Naṟṟiṇai 69. "பல்லயின் தோன்றி தோன்றுப் புதல்விளக் குறூஉம்".



GLORIOSA SUPERBA

Stems slender, green, rising from an underground tuber, *leaves* usually opposite at the base of the stem, alternate higher up, narrow, without leafstalk, the tip converted into a tendril; *flowers* large, carried singly on long stalks which arise close to the leaf-axils, *sepals* and *petals* 3 each, alike, narrow, with wavy edges, at first pale yellow-green, then red in the lower half, then all red, bent sharply backwards, the long style bent at an angle to the ovary.

as being 'blood-red' in colour, and thus the word 'kuruti' (meaning 'red' or 'blood') has been used quite *frequently* to describe these fllowers.[5]

FLOWER OF THE HILLS

The Sankam poets describe the *kāntaḷ* as one of the most scented flowers of the hilly tracts. A lover in an attempt to describe his beloved's charm, compares her to a garland of sweet-smelling flowers. To compose this garland he chose the glamorous *gloriosa* from the hills, 'the pure jasmin from the meadows and the cool water-lily from the cultivable tracts[6]. A maiden claims that her hill itself had become fragrant with the scented g loriosa.[7] Another describes her home as the delightful hill slope diffused with the scent from the blooming bunch of kantal flowers.[8] A young woman in love refers to her lover's home as the high hill where the kantal diffuses its fragrance.[9]

Kurinji is the region of dark clouds and heavy showers. Mountain streams rush down the slopes and fall over rocks. Such a surrounding is ideal for the luxurious growth of this *gloriosa superba*. A *Kuṟuntokai* song describes the nature of the district where this plant flourishes.

> " The cool, fragrant kantal that grows along
> the mountain stream, fed by the dark clouds
> which gather on the high slopes ".[10]

But it also grows well in other areas during the rainy season, especially the mullai tracts next to the hill region. This is clearly indicated by the *Naṟṟiṇai* poem that describes the kāntaḷ flower as nature's lamp at dusk.[11] Other poems tell

---

5. Kuṟuntokai I. "குருதிப் பூவின் குலைக்காந் தட்டே".
   Naṟṟiṇai 34. "காந்தள் குருதி வொண்பூ".
6. Kuṟuntokai 62.
7. Aiṅkuṟunūṟu 226. "நறுந்தண் சிலம்பில் துறுகுலைக் காந்தள்".
8. Naṟṟiṇai 313. "காந்தள் கமழ்குலை அவிழ்ந்த நயவருஞ் சாரல்"
9. Kuṟuntokai 373. "காந்தளஞ் சிறுகுடிக் கமழும் ஓங்குமலை நாடன்".
10. Kuṟuntokai 259.
11. Naṟṟiṇai 69.

us of the *kāntaḷ* and the 'mullai growing side by side. A young hero had undertaken a journey in search of wealth. At home, his lady-love was anxious that he should travel without much difficulty and reach home in safety. Her friend, understanding her state of mind, consoles her saying:

> "Good is the path he hath taken for it has the bright red gloriosa and the jasmine, brought forth by the season of cool showers".[12]

Ahanāṉūṟu sings of these two flowers together. "The sweet scented mullai grows with the *kāntaḷ*",[13] and a shepherd wears a crown of the cool, fragrant mullai and the gloriosa.[14]

The kuṟavar of the hills worshipped Murukan who is usually referred to as Sēyōn (the Red One). Though all flowers were good enough to be offered to him, red flowers were considered most appropriate and the pretty *kāntaḷ*, a native of the hills, was his favourite. It soon became symbolic just as the *konṟai* and the basil (thuḷasi) became symbolic of Siva and Thirumāl respectively. In *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, Sēyōn is referred to as "the one who wears on his head a garland of the flame-like gloriosa, untouched by the bees".[15] The fences around the kuravar's cottages on the slopes provided good support to the tender stems of the *kāntaḷ* plants. They thrived well and added scent and charm to those simple homes. A number of references to the "*kāntaḷ* fence" can be found in *Kuṟuntokai*

(1) The hilly country with a high *kāntaḷ*-fence.[16]
(2) The little village, *kāntaḷ*-fenced.[17]
(3) The pretty village where *kāntaḷ* grows.[18]

---

12. Ainkuṟuṉūṟu 440.
13. Ahanāṉūṟu 164. "நறுவீ முல்லையொடு தோன்றி தோன்ற".
14. Ahanāṉūṟu 94.
15. Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai 43-44.
"சுரும்பு மூசாச் சுடர்ப்பூங் காந்தட்
பெருந்தண் கண்ணி மிலைந்த சென்னியன்".
16. Kuṟuntokai 76. "காந்தள் வேலி யோங்குமலை நன்னாட்டு"
17. Kuṟuntokai 100. "காந்தள் வேலிச் சிறுகுடி".
18. Kuṟuntokai 373. "காந்தளஞ் சிறுகுடிக் கமழும் ஓங்குமலை".

PRAYING HANDS

Ancient Tamil women had the pratice of painting the top half of their fingers, including the nails, red. Some even painted some simple patterns on their palms and feet. The hands thus adorned when brought together in prayer are red at the top and light-coloured at the bottom—just like the new bloom of a *kāntaḷ*. The Saṅkam poets who had observed this similarity, compared the *kāntaḷ* bloom to women's hands and women's hands to the *kāntaḷ*. The author of *Sirupāṇāṟṟuppaṭai* tells a *pāṇan* that as he and his troupe approach Velur they will see the coral-red *avarai* bloom, the dark-budded *kāyā* flowers, the ball-like buds of the *musuṇṭai* and "the rich clustered *kāntaḷ* blooming like fingers".[19] The same simile is found in *Paripādal*—"the *kāntaḷ* which has bloomed like fingers".[20] A maid describing the lord's hill mentions the clusters of *kāntaḷ* that wave in the breeze and shed their honey.

> "Clusters of honey-filled *kāntaḷ* sway in the breeze and resemble the hands of kuṟava maidens, joined in reverence to the hill god".[21]

It is interesting to note that the resemblance here is in form as well as in colour *Porunarāṟṟuppaṭai* contains descriptions of a *viṟali*—a minstrel's wife. She is gentle and pretty with long, slender fingers like *kāntaḷ's* petals, and sharp, red nails like a parrot's beak.

> "Her fingers slim are like the petals of the kāntaḷ blooms that grow on tops of lofty hills. Like parrot bill seem her dainty shining finger nails".[22]

A foster-mother paying a visit to her young lady's house, finds her busy kneading the curds with her tender *kāntaḷ*-like

---

19. Siṟupāṇāṟṟuppaṭai 167. "செழுங்குலைக் காந்தள் கைவிரல் பூப்பவும்".
20. Paripāṭal 19 : 76. "கைபோற் பூத்த கமழ்குலைக் காந்தள்".
21. Kalittokai 40 : 11-13.
22. Porunarāṟṟuppaṭai 33-34.
"நெடுவரை மிசைஇய காந்தள் மெல்விரல்
கிளிவா யொப்பி னொளிவிடு வள்ளுகிர்".

fingers to prepare a meal for her husband.[23] The rich merchants of Puhār lived in lofty spacious mansions. Whenever the frenzied dance of Murukan was performed in the city streets, their womenfolk looked out of the windows that let in the breeze and joined their bangled hands in prayer. These hands look like the bunches of new *kāntaḷ* blooms that grow on the hills and spread their pollen on the slopes.

> " They worship with bejewelled hands
> Resembling clusters that do sprout
> From kantal's joints whose blooms do spread
> Their pollen sweet on mountain slopes ".[24]

It is interesting to find that the poet should bring in the *kāntaḷ* flowers from the mountains as comparison to the hands of women who live in these mansions—especially while describing the dance performed in honour of the mountain god whose favourite flower the *kāntaḷ* is. An *Ainkuṟunūṟu* poem depicts an interesting scene in which the *kāntaḷ* is again used as a comparison to the heroine's fingers. While a lover waited for his lady, she came stealthily from behind and covered his eyes with her tender fingers. The happy youth addresses her as

> " You, who covered my eyes with hands as
> pretty as the scented *kāntaḷ* that spreads its
> fragrance on the hill slopes ".[25]

Another poem shows a little girl who having been robbed by a monkey of her vessel full of milk and honey, cried beating her hands against her body. This reddened hee tender fingers and made them look like the petals of a full-bloomed kāntaḷ that grows on the Potiyil hill.[26] In *Paripādal* too we find the same comparison, but here thr flowers are not likened to that of maids but warriors—warri-

---

23. Kuṟuntokai 167. "முளிதயிர் பிசைந்த காந்தள் மெல்விரல்".
24. Paṭṭinappālai 153-155. T. V. Chelliah, Pattupattu (1962) Pg. 39. Lines 171-174.
25. Aiṅkuṟunūṟu 293.
 "சிலம்புகமழ் காந்த ணறுங்குலை யன்ன
 நலம்பெறு கையினென் கண்புதைத் தோயே".
20. Naṟṟiṇai 379.

ors whose hands are bound together by their victorious opponents.

> " Like the bound hands of those defeated in war is the close-petalled elegance of the *kāntaḷ* caused by rain ".[27]

Here the resemblance is obviously in the denseness of the fingers and the petals. This simile does not seem to be an entirely Tamil one. The Chinese name for this flower is *Fou Shiu* which means, the Buddha's hand.

Sometimes the bees sit on full-grown kāntaḷ buds and wait for them to open. The poet Tolkapilar sings of this in his *Naṟṟiṇai* poem. " On the high slope where the cataract resounds the fragrant *kāntaḷ* of the ruddy hue opens when the spotted bee sucks ".[28] The opening of the flower at the bee's arrival reminds one of domestic virtues—especially hospitality. The bees seem to be the virtuous people (sāṉṟōr) of previous acquaintance.

> " Seeing the impatient bee hum, the *kāntaḷ* bud opens its comely petals like dutiful men who welcome virtuous people of earlier acquaintance ".[29]

The blue-black bees perched on the finger-like petals of the *gloriosa* reminds one of a fabulous ring set with a dark-blue stone and worn by a woman of charm and wealth.

> " Like a gorgeous ring on a beauty's fingers, perches the bee on kantal's opening bud ".[30]

The same idea is found in Iḷaṅkō's epic—Silappatikāram. Mātavi accepts the *Yāḻ* from her maid and plays on it

---

27. Paripādal 18 : 34-35.
"போர்தோற்றுக் கட்டுண்டார் கைபோல்வ கார்தோற்றும்
காந்தள் செறிந்த கவின்".
28. Naṟṟiṇai 399.
29. Kuṟuntokai 265.
30. Kalittokai 43 : 8-9.
"நகைவளர் கைச்செறிந்த நாண்போலக் காந்தள்
முகையின்மேல் தும்பி யிருக்கும்".

with her slender, ringed fingers. The music roused by the *kāntaḷ*-like fingers resembled the hum of a swarm of bees.[31] These lines convey such a picture and such meaning that no translation can do full justice to them.

OTHER SIMILES

The bangles worn by Indian women are of varied designs. The *kāntaḷ* petals resemble broken bits of those with a twisted or zig-zagged pattern, and this simile is also found in Saṅkam poetry.

(i) The gloriosa blooming like broken-bangles.[32]

(ii) Bent-petalled *kāntaḷ* blossoms that appear like broken bangles.[33]

A young maiden, separated from her lover pined for him. Soon her complexion lost its brightness and her arms became too thin to hold her bangles which began to fall away. This sight reminded the poet of the *kāntaḷ* plant shaken by the breeze and shedding its pretty petals.

> "As the shaken-gloriosa shedding its petals,
> the bright bangles fall off her wrists".[34]

The same sight brings the same simile to another poet's mind. But the reason for the *kāntaḷ* shedding its petals is not a strong breeze but the flower's end itself. The pollens have been shed and now comes its natural end.

> "In the face of the mother's strict custody,
> her gleaming bangles fall off, like the petals
> of a fading *kāntaḷ*".[35]

---

31. Silappatikāram—Kāṇalvari.
"மரகதமணித் தாள்செறிந்த மணிக்காந்தள் மெல்விரல்கள்
பயிர்வண்டின் கிளைபோலப் பன்னரம்பின் மிசைப்படர".
32. Puṟanāṉūṟu 90. "உடைவளை கடுப்ப மலர்ந்த காந்தள்".
33. Malaipaṭukatām 519. "வளையுடைந் தன்ன வள்ளிதழ்க் காந்தள்".
34. Kalittokai 7 : 15–16.
"இவட்கே, அலங்கிதழ்க் கோடல் வீயுகு பவைபோல
இலங்கேர் எல்வளை இறையூரும்மே".
35. Kalittokai 48 : 10–11.
"தாழ்செறி கடுங்காப்பின் தாய்முன்னர் நின்சாரல்
ஊழுறு கோடல்போல் எல்வளை யுகுபவால்".

But the first reason shows the unrest in the girl's heart, while the second, the acceptance of the mother's strict guard over her movements as the natural outcome of her clandestine love.

These *kāntaḷ* blooms that bring to some minds such pleasant objects like well-manicured hands with ringed fingers and the lovely bangles, remind others of the frightful hood of a cobra. This is because the shape of each petal resembles the zig-zagged lines on a snake's hood. *This resemblance seems to have cheated the thunder, so often heard* on the hill slopes. There was a mountain stream whose water was scented and beautified by the flowers that fell from the adjoining trees and thickets. On its banks was a splendid array of the clustered gloriosa. The thunder mistaking it for a snake struck with such anger, that the whole mountain shook and resounded. Soon there was a heavy storm.[36] The poet Poṟkollaṉār has compared the movements of this flower to a snake 'dancing' and to women's fingers in the same poem. The *kāyā* tree in full bloom looked like the beautiful peacock dancing to exhibit its equisite plumes. Closeby was the *kāntaḷ* growing on the ground for want of support. Its flowers stood high on tall, tender stems and waved—like snakes frightened at the sight of a peacock. Some of these *kāntaḷ* flowers had just opened with dark bees humming around to collect the honey. These insects going up and down seemed to be the black dice used by young girls at play. The petals of the *kāntaḷ* of course resembled the rosy fingers of the playful girls.[37] Vishṇu sleeps with majesty on a serpent-bed. Athisesha, the thousand-headed snake spreads its hood with zig-zagged lines and provides him with shade. This picture of Thirumāl had found its place in his temples and the hearts of his devotees. It has reminded a poet of a familiar sight on the mountains where the elephants wander at will eating tender shoots. When they have had their fill, they stretch out their huge

36. Kalittokai 45 : 1-6.
37. Ahanāṉūṟu 108.

dark bodies and lie amidst the *kāntaḷ* plants that grow all over the slopes. The flowers bloom on long stems that reach above the sleeping elephants.

> "The god who sleeps on a serpent-bed as an
> elephant that reclines on the hillslope, where
> tall clusters of *kāntaḷ* grow ".[38]

Dark laterite rocks are common in the Kurinji districts. Quite often bunches of red gloriosa bloom near them and if one were to look from a distance it would look as though a hurt elephant was lying there, bleeding. A maid uses this picture to describe a hero's hill. There, " like the bruises of an elephant hurt in a fight, the bright red gloriosa bloom on the rocks ".[39] The big black rock acts as a contrasting background for the thin, red petals. The creamy tusks of the elephant would resemble a new *kāntaḷ* bloom when their tips are dipped in blood. A young man's hill was rich in things lovely and useful, and men and animals brave. There an elephant rested with its mate. When another came that way there was a fight between them. One thrusted its tusks deep into the flesh of the other and defeated it. Everyday there bloomed on the slopes, *kāntaḷ* flowers as beautiful as the tusks of this brave elephant

> " The strong elephant with its valour wounds
> the rivals face. Like its tusks the scented
> *kāntaḷ* daily bloom ".[40]

A *Naṟṟiṇai* poem too contains this simile. Besides, the odour of the flower is mentioned as well.

> " The red-tipped *kāntaḷ* buds, which seem like
> the tusks of elephants that had killed, bloom
> and diffuse their fragrance on the hill ".[41]

---

38. Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai 372-373.
 " காந்தளஞ் சிலம்பிற் களிறுபடிந் தாங்கு
 பாம்பணைப் பள்ளி யமர்ந்தோன் ".
39. Kuṟuntokai 284.
40. Kalittokai 53 : 2-5.
41. Naṟṟiṇai 247.

In another *Narrinai* poem we find this flower compared to the lines on an elephant's forehead

> "The bright red *kāntaḷ* blooms like the lines
> on the faces of elephants in a row ".[42]

Here the comparison fits the form only. Mathuraikkaṇṇanār's comparison is an apt one and is not very common. He has used the flower to describe a cockerel's crest. The cock crowing to announce a new day had annoyed a young wife. So out of anger she cursed it, but used a pretty simile to do so.

> "O cockerel with a crest like the conical bunch of the bright gloriosa! May you become prey to the wild-kitten that looks for lizards at night ".[43]

The gloriosa that serves as similies to poets, was a source of comfort to a maiden in separation. It had rained on her lover's hill the previous night. In the morning, the rain-fed mountain brook washed down a gloriosa plant-bulbs and all. Seeing it, she picked it up with joy and fondly kissed the plant from his hill. She then took it home and planted it with care. The mother watched her do all this but said nothing. The plant grew well and the sight of it was a great consolation to her in her loneliness. The maid, not knowing this, commended her on her forbearance. By way of explanation she relates all that happened.

> "Listen, dear maid. The highest heaven would be a reward too small for mother. I fetched the *kāntaḷ* tuber that came one morning washed down by the fragrant stream fed by the night rain on his hill. I kissed the tender leaves so repeatedly that they withered, and I planted it at home. Mother watched me but breathed not a word ".[44]

---

42. Narrinai 176.
"நிரைத்த யானை முகத்துவரி கடுப்பப்
போதுபொதி உடைந்த ஒண்செங் காந்தள்".
43. Kuruntokai 107.
44. Kuruntokai 361.

News and Notes

TRIBUTES TO LATE BHARATHI DASAN

The funeral of Bharathi Dasan took place here (Pondicherry) yesterday at noon. Over 50,000 people followed the bier from the Poet's residence in Perumalkoil Street to the funeral ghat. The Police Band was in attendance.

Flower wreaths and garlands were placed on the body on behalf of various associations, friends and admirers of the poet, including the Chief Minister, Mr. Goubert. A wreath on behalf of the Pondy Press Club was also presented, as Bharathi Dasan was not only a poet, but also an eminent journalist, having edited and published his daily, " Kuyil " from Pondicherry for some time. Condolence messages were received from Mr. S. L. Silam, Lieut.-Governor, Pondicherry, Mr. Kakkan, Madras Minister, Mr. E. V. Ramasamy Naicker, Leader of the Dravida Kazhagam and others.

Mr. Tirumudy Sethuraman, M.L.A., Deputy Mayor, made touching references about Bharathi Dasan's life and career. On behalf of the Tamizharasu Kazhagam, Mr. Ma. Po. Sivagnanam spoke, paying a tribute to Bharathi Dasan as a social and political revolutionary, Mr. V. Subbiah, the People's Front Opposition leader, recalled his political association with the poet, Messrs. T. K. Shanmugam, Kavignar Kannadasan, E. V. K. Sambath, Karunanidhi, N. V. Natarajan and others also spoke in appreciation of the poet's views. The Pondy merchants observed a half-day hartal as a mark of respect to Bharathi Dasan.

The Hindu, 24–4–1964

CHIEF EDITOR VISITS MAURITIUS

Mauritius Island was visited by Rev. Dr. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam in the month of July, 1964. The beautiful island of Mauritius has a multi-racial population reaching nearly 700,000 of which 74% are of Indian origin.

In order to welcome the scholar from the University of Malaya a reception committee of 20 leading personalities was formed with the Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs as Chairman. Under the auspices of Indo-Mauritian Associations, Fr. Thani Nayagam delivered four public lectures (two in English and two in Tamil) on the following subjects: "The Indian contribution to world culture"; "The coming age and the brotherhood of men" and "Tamil Literature and Culture". He found time to give a press conference where in a lucid manner he explained the Dravidian contribution to India and the outside world. He was also entertained by various Tamil Associations as well as Catholic Associations. The Mauritian public was extremely pleased to hear his Radio message in Tamil, French and English. Prof. Thani Nayagam was greatly impressed by the harmony one hundred thousand Tamils preserve Tamil. He also addressed the Teachers Training College in Port Louis.

He was unable to visit the Reunion islands, but he hopes to do so at a later date.

In response to an appeal to read "Tamil Culture", we have been able to obtain 75 new subscribers for this interesting and scholarly periodical.

27-7-1964 MAURITIAN REPORTER.

BHARATHI'S POEMS IN RUSSIAN

The poems of Subramania Bharathi, the celebrated Tamil bard of freedom, are very popular in the Soviet Union. Five thousand copies of a Russian translation which appeared recently were sold out in two or three days.

The book contains about 40 of the best poems representing the different stages of his poetic development. A whole group of Soviet translators rendered in verse the word-for-word prose translation made by I. Smirnova of Leningrad, specialist in the South Indian languages.

Soviet lovers of poetry have long been acquainted with the name of the glorious fighter for Indian freedom and one of the founders of modern Tamil poetry, Bharathi being one of the first Indian intellectuals to respond to the October Socialist Revolution with a poem, " New Russia ", written in 1917.

Modern Tamil writers such as Pudumai Pithan, Kalki, R. P. Sethu Pillai, M. Varadarajanar, M. S. Venkataswami and D. Jayakanthan are well known in the Soviet Union. Short stories by Janakiraman, T. Ja. Ra., K. V. Jagannathan, Alahiriswami and Pudumai Pithan are favourites with Soviet readers. But unknown to these readers is the rich and ancient Tamil poetry.

KURAL

Kural in Russian appeared in the Soviet Union at the end of last year. Yuri Glazov, a young Soviet Dravidianist of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia of the USSR Academy of Sciences, completed after many years the Russian translation of this outstanding monument of Tamil literature. Glazov's translation has been received with satisfaction by Soviet indologists and is regarded as an important contribution to Soviet Dravidian and Tamil studies. Unfortunately the translation is raw from the poetical point of view. The Fiction and Poetry Publishing House is preparing for publication this year of a highly poetic translation of the Kural. The scientific translation will thus be supplemented by a poetic translation.

—THE 'MAIL'
Madras 4th April, '64.

ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE

(Continued from inside front cover)

OTHER MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNING COUNCIL

Mr. P. Alalasundaran Chettiar
„ C. Amritaganesan
„ Anbu Ganapathy
„ S. Arumuga Mudaliar
„ R. Balakrishnan
Rev. P. Ceyrac, S.J.
Mr. S. Chellaswamy
Dr. A. Chidambaranatha Chettiar
„ V. A. Devasenapathi
Mr. M. M. Ghani
„ S. Maharaja Pillai
„ O. RM. M. SP. SV. M. Meyappa Chettiar
„ C. A. Mohamed Ibrahim
„ A. M. M. Murugappa Chettiar
Dr. B. Natarajan, M.L.A.
„ K. K. Pillai
Mr. A. Palaniswamy
„ V. P. Raman
„ L. P. K. R. Ramanathan Chettiar
„ S. Ramaswami Konar
„ V. Shanmugasundaram
„ T. K. Shanmugam
„ A. Subbiah
„ P. M. Sundaram
„ V. Sundaramurthi Mudaliar
„ V. S. Thyagaraja Mudaliar
„ P. Thirugnanasambandam

Regd. No. E.N. 8263/57

TAMIL CULTURE

Subscriptions, advertisements, and remittances should be addressed to: The Hony. Treasurer, *Tamil Culture*, 13/II, Jeremiah Road, Madras-7.

Subscriptions are best remitted in the form of crossed Postal orders or cheques or Bank drafts *payable in India* drawn in favour of *Tamil Culture*. Cheques not drawn on a Bank in Madras should include the Bank's collecting commission of 50 paise. V. P. P. charges are extra.

Subscriptions and remittances may also be remitted to:

CEYLON: Individual subscribers may send P.O.s or M.O.s or Unesco Book coupons cashable in Madras.

MALAYA: Ensign Book Depot, 54, Pudu Road, Kuala Lumpur, Malaya.

Rates of Subscription (effective from 1963):

	India, Ceylon, Burma	Malaya	U. K.	U. S. A. & other countries
Annual	**Rs. 10**	**M $ 10/-**	**Sh. 15**	**U. S. $ 2·50** or its equivalent
Single Copy	**Rs. 3**	**M $ 3/-**	**Sh. 6**	**U. S. $ 0·75**

As back numbers are usually sold out, we are unable to guarantee supply of back numbers to subscribers who send their subscriptions for any year after one or more issues for that year are published. In such cases we can supply only subsequent issues of the year at single copy rates. Subscribers are therefore requested to send their subscription, new or renewals, to reach us by 31st January.

Literary communications, Exchange, and Books for review should be addressed to the Chief Editor, *Tamil Culture* 13/II Jeremiah Road, Vepery, Madras-7.

To secure their return, if not accepted, the Mss. offered for publication should be accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope. The Editor does not take any responsibility for Mss. that may be lost. Mss. should be typewritten and sent in duplicate to facilitate printing.

The expression of individual views by contributors or reviewers does not imply editorial endorsement.

Published by Mr. C. Amritaganesan for Academy of Tamil Culture, Madras-7 and Printed at
St. Joseph's Industrial School Press, Tiruchirappalli-1

Vol. XI, No. 4



OCT.—DEC. 1964

TAMIL CULTURE

JOURNAL OF THE ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE

CONTENTS

All Rights Reserved

TAMIL CULTURE

EDITORIAL BOARD:

Chief Editor:

REV. DR. XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM,
University of Malaya.

Joint Editor:

MR. A. SUBBIAH, Madras.

Asst. Editor:

MR. S. SINGARAVELU,
University of Malaya.

Members:

MR. C. AMRITAGANESAN, Madras.
MR. R. BALAKRISHNAN, District Educational Officer (Retired), Madras.
REV. P. CEYRAC, S.J., Loyola College, Madras.
DR. A. C. CHETTIAR, University of Madras.
MR. M. M. GHANI, Director, Regional Institute of English, Bangalore.
DR. K. K. PILLAI, University of Madras.
DR. V. I. SUBRAMANIAM, University of Kerala, Trivandrum.
MR. P. THIRUGNANASAMBANDAM, Presidency College, Madras.
MAHA VIDWAN M. V. VENUGOPALA PILLAI, Madras.

(The office-bearers of the Academy are ex-officio members of the Editorial Board)

ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE

OFFICE-BEARERS FOR 1963–64

President:

DR. M. VARADARAJAN

Vice-Presidents:

PROF. T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM
REV. DR. XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM
DR. KAMIL ZVELEBIL
MR. KARUMUTTU THIAGARAJAN CHETTIAR
RAO SAHIB N. MURUGESA MUDALIAR

Hony. Secretaries:

PROF. A. M. PARAMASIVANANDAM
DR. S. SHANKAR RAJU

Hony. Treasurers:

MR. S. M. PALANIAPPA CHETTIAR
MR. V. SUBBIAH PILLAI

(See inside page of back cover for names of other members of the Governing Council)

Vol. XI, No. 4 **OCT.—DEC. 1964**

TAMIL CULTURE

JOURNAL OF THE ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE

CONTENTS

All Rights Reserved

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Mr. P. Joseph has done research work under Fr. Heras in St. Xavier's College, Bombay, and has contributed several articles on Indian History to research periodicals.

Dr. C. G. Diehl is Professor at the Uppsala University, Sweden.

Mr. S. Singaravelu is Assistant Lecturer in Indian studies, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.

Mr. M.E. Manickavasagom is Research Fellow, Department of Tamil and Linguistics, University of Kerala, Trivandrum, South India.

Dr. Kamil Zvelebil is the Head of the Department of Dravidology, University of Prague.

Mr. J. M. Somasundaram Pillai is Manager of Publications, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar, South India.

The Harappa Script—A Tragedy in Timing

P. JOSEPH

A decade has elapsed since the famed historian, late Fr. Heras, S.J., hurled in 1953 a veritable bombshell into the scholarly world with the first volume of "Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture", published as Study No. 19 of the Indian Historical Research Institute,—St. Xavier's College, Bombay,—of which he was founder-director. Scholars do not yet seem to have fully recovered from the shock he gave with his unorthodox pronouncements.

True, ten years are too short a time for acceptance of a script-decipherment with such far-reaching results in the fields of not only ancient Indian but especially Sumerian, Egyptian, in fact, all western cultures, as have been initially and necessarily incompletely announced. The announcer himself did not expect any miracle and would have, had he lived to this day and needed it, taken sufficient consolation from the case of Champollion, whose reading of the Egyptian hieroglyphs had to wait well nigh half a century for recognition. Ten years, however, are long enough to review others' reactions to Fr. Heras' work.

On the one hand was the definitely partisan and tumultuously over-enthusiastic, if largely ill-informed, crowd that welcomed, with a fanfare of political trumpets, the publication of Fr. Heras' theory. This uncritical sector has done him the greatest harm, for he never expected even in his remotest dream that his view could be so turned, twisted and torn off context as to serve nefarious linguistic and racial ends. The greatest pity was that Fr. Heras' book saw the light of day when certain rabid individuals were looking around for some disinterested scholarly effort to bolster up their specious claims. They have, no doubt, made merry with a vengeance.

This tragedy in timing has prevented, to a large extent, the non-partisan Indian supporters from touching even with a pair of tongs a view, which, as a complete exposure of the carefully built-up, time-honoured Aryan cultural hoax, might divert them from the political line of emotional integration they had learnt to tow in recent years, particularly since independence. Thus a sizable slice of honest criticism has been kept away from the press and platform.

In regard to another section of Indian opinion, politics, instead of acting as a damper, seems to have egged it on to the ignoring of evidence. Take, for instance, the view that does not acknowledge the destruction of Harappan cities by the Aryans on the plea that there is no direct testimony. Because a debris layer divides the Harappan remains and those characterized by cemetery (H) ware at the west gate and associated terraces of the Harappa citadel mound and also in the cemetery area, as proved by the trench stratigraphically connecting the (H) and R. 37 (Harappan) cemeteries, the cemetery (H) culture is supposed to have arrived after the end of Harappa. But elsewhere on the citadel mound, cementery (H) ware turned up mixed with Harappan pottery (as it did on the top-layer of Mohenjo-daro.) The only legitimate inference is that the foreigners occupied the rest of the mound prior to and the west gate area (the cemetery (H) burials were contemporaneous with it) after the end of Harappa. Add to this the Jhukar culture, comprising alien pottery and seals, amulets, beads as well as weapons with a West-Asian stamp, in squatters' dwellings, in association with huddled skeletons and jewelry hoards at Jhukar, Chanhu-daro, Mohenjo-daro etc., similar happenings in Baluchistan and Sistan, Indo-European movements in West Asia and the Rg. Vedic boast of the destruction of Dasya strongholds; the circumstantial evidence for the overthrow of Harappa by the Aryans is overwhelming. To maintain in the face of all these facts that the Aryans entered India after Harappa had died a natural death seems to smack of political tutelage.

Apart from these politically affected standpoints, scholarly criticism, it must be admitted, has been disappointing, in the sense that not sufficient notice has been taken of the outcome of nearly two decades of dedicated endeavour. The reason was probably lack of proper publicity. An ardent ancient mariner, he had no use for modern gadgets of successful navigation. He was quite indifferent to the nature of the landing. In this he was a typical Dravidian supremely unconcerned with,—almost too lazy, one might say, to bother about,—others' reactions to his views and ways.

This would explain the opinion, not quite scholarly, though well-meant, held in certain circles that Fr. Heras had seen a vision ! This writer pleads guilty to the charge of inadvertently contributing his share to the reaction with his not very scientific remark, that the decipherment became such a magnificent obsession with Fr. Heras that he even dreamt about it often and solved some ticklish problem in his sleep.[1]

A section of the scholarly coterie preferred the waiting game to taking sides. They have sat on the fence non-committal though not without an occasional concession, that the reading could be correct in view of the apparently sound principles Fr. Heras laid down prior to embarking on the task of actual decipherment.

Some have summarily dismissed the problem with the pontifical, if somewhat obtuse-minded, dictum that the script has not been read.[2] What they apparently meant was the reading has not been generally accepted. But how will acceptance,—or reasoned rejection,—come unless scholars cease to fight shy of the issue and tackle it boldly by traversing the same arduous road as the author himself took and checking the theory at every turn before arriving at journey's end ?

---

1 Joseph, "A Dravidian from Spain", *Tamil Culture*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, p. 5.

2 cf. e. g. Piggott, *Prehistoric India*, p. 173.

At the back of all this criticism was the basic complaint, quite justified though sometimes unexpressed, that Fr. Heras had not disclosed the entire key to the decipherment of the Indus writing. The uncharitably inclined even sneered that he was scared (*sic*) to put the key before the public, lest the hollowness of his claim be exposed. That someone other than the decipherer himself should account for the situation must seem strange. And yet this writer, with the only credential that he was Fr. Heras' student-collaborator, would try and explain the working of his mind.

The complete key, it may at once be said, was got ready in the form of several charts. Fr. Heras has explained the process all too briefly though he has mentioned all the steps involved. He had fully intended to publish the whole key, showing how he arrived at the meaning of each sign and the reading of each inscription as an elaborate dictionary and *corpus inscriptionum* of the Indus Valley language and writing. The few pages,—compared to the rest of volume I,—devoted to the topic of decipherment are liable to give a lop-sided view of the time and labour involved in the task. Far more time was taken up in arriving at the final meaning of the inscriptions than in discovering concordances between Indian and foreign cultures. These correlations in material finds had been suspected ever since Marshall announced, in the late thirties, the results of his dig at Mohenjo-daro. Fr. Heras, no doubt, added to the list of similarities. But at the start he did not dream even remotely of the possibility of corroboration from the inscriptions. And when he did notice it, he decided he should first publish the cultural correspondences. As he could not do so without giving some idea of the process by which he read the writing, he included it as an introductory and subsidiary topic in his book, the main purpose of which was to impress on foreign scholars,—the study of foreign civilisations is still in its infancy in India,—the importance of a new source to elucidate problems in their own particular fields and on Indian scholars, particularly Sanskritists, the necessity of a new approach to the study of ancient Indian culture. Hence

the very title of the book: "Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture" and not "Decipherment of Harappa Script", as one might have expected.

Had he dealt with only the decipherment question in the first volume, as he had originally intended, Sumerologists, Egyptologists and Biblical experts would never have known the extraordinary treasures laid bare in the Indus basin. The Sumerians, the Egyptians and the Hebrews were not the only people of the ancient world who owed a debt to India. The Canaanites, the Phoenicians, the Hittites, the Minoans, the Cypriots, the Mycenaeans, the Etruscans, the Iberians,—in short, all nations bordering on the Mediterranean,—were more or less indebted. As they, however, apparently derived their cultures—studies on them were to appear subsequently—from the Egyptians and the Sumerians, with the Biblical folk contributing their own pattern to the grand mosaic, Fr. Heras wanted to give scholars a quick glance of what India did to her close neighbours, who acted as culture-carriers to almost the rest of the then known world. Could he have had a premonition of the approaching end,—he outlived his work only by a couple of years?

While, for particular reasons, he did not set down fully the key to the Chinese, rather Harappan, puzzle, he, nevertheless, explained clearly the principles he had laid down before attempting the solution. Unbiased critics must admit the soundness of these principles. Actually they boil down to two basic ones. The first, that the Harappa culture was non-Aryan and pre-Aryan, is admitted by most modern scholars. It is only the unscholarly fringe that, nursing even in this late day the outmoded vision of *herrenvolk*, still sees Aryan authorship in the glory that was Harappa.

Once this is granted, the other basic principle, that Harappa was Dravidian-inspired, seems to follow. And yet those who accepted the first apparently found the second not very welcome. This position has driven them to make rather ridiculous suggestions, e.g. that the Harappan language

could have been Munda.[3] The non-Aryan languages in the country today are Dravidian and Munda. There is hardly any trace of Negrito speech. The Munda languages are as a group in a rudimentary stage. While what is true today need not necessarily have been true yesterday and while loss of culture is a historical fact, yet that the Munda-speakers, after having been powerful enough to have imposed their language on Harappan society, got so thoroughly decivilised as to descend to their present palaeolithic level seems unthinkable. On the contrary, a representative collection of the Dravidian language group has reached a high level of development, with one of them, namely Tamil, possessing the oldest extant literature of any living language. If, therefore, the Harappa script is to be read in a non-Aryan language, it could hardly be other than Dravidian, rather proto-Dravidian.

This *a priori* deduction is for all practical purposes confirmed by archaeological evidence, pertaining to Harappan anthropology. Though the available data are not exhaustive, they seem to present a cross-section of the Harappa folk. Of the four elements,—the Mediterranean, proto-Australoid, Alpine and Mongoloid,—the dominant was not the proto-Australoid, which spoke Munda but the Mediterranean, which in India has all along been equated by anthropologists with the original Dravidian-speakers.

The Dravida-phobes, unmoved by all this evidence but as if almost conscious of the untenability of their extreme position, have voted for postponement of the reading of Harappa script until some lucky spade would throw up a bilingual inscription.[4] Archaeologists may yet find the Indian equivalent of the Rosetta stone or Bahistun rock. On the contrary they may not. The Indian bilingual record was, perhaps, on custom-sanctioned palm-leaf, which failed to resist the ravages of time. Or there may have been no

---

3 cf. e.g. Piggott, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

4 cf. e.g. Piggott, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

such record at all. In Egypt and Iran-Iraq, civilisations succeeded one another until through Greek and Persian we could get a glimpse of Egyptian, Sumerian and other languages and cultures. In India, however, for over a millennium after the Aryan inroads (roughly from 2000 to 500 B.C.) we are confronted with the Dark Age, of which there are many mute, material remains,[5] that eloquently testify to the general loss of the art of writing. When with the succeeding historical period civilisation and writing re-emerge, we meet the familiar (wherever the Aryans went) phenomenon of Dravidians largely speaking Aryan languages, though modified, and Aryans adopting wholesale the Dravidian culture, minus language. By then the Indus script had died out and Brahmi had developed, the apparent connection of which with the former, through the chalcolithic and megalithic graffiti[6] and symbols of the punch-marked coins, cannot yet be worked out for want of sufficient material.

This apart, a bilingual inscription is no complete open-sesame. Champollion found that out when he read the Egyptian hieroglyphs in the languages of the Coptic church

---

5 To discuss the main remains, the chalcolithic culture of Central India and the Deccan was apparently developed by Harappan fusing with, around 2000 B.C., and turning into neolithic a hunting microlithic. In some parts of the Southern Deccan, however, this cultural amalgam came in contact with an earlier local neolithic, characterized mainly by the pointed-butt polished stone-axe. In the north, from the start of the 1st. millennium B.C. Aryan influence seems to have been felt. The mid-ribbed daggers of Navdatoli and Chandoli were Aryan-inspired as this technique was unknown in India earlier. The associated cut-spout (found also at Gilund in Rajasthan) and channel-spouted vessels too may be Aryan. The chalcolithic (Painted Grey ware) culture of the Gangetic basin is much more difficult to interpret because of a hiatus between it and Harappa at Rupar and Alamgirpur. If Aryan at all, it was a local product, flowering sometime after Harappa's end and responsible for the mid-ribbed swords and channel-spouted bowl of the copper hoards.

6 Lal ("From the Megalithic to the Harappan: Tracing back the Graffiti on the Pottery", *Ancient India*, No. 16, pp. 23-24), who recently pointed out a few similarities between the graffiti and the scripts, says it would be presumptuous to conclude that the graffiti had any syllabic, phonetic or alphabetic values. This may be commendable archaeological caution but is certainly unimaginative historical interpretation, especially after admitting the indebtedness of the Central Indian and Deccan chalcolithic to Harappa. The graffiti, as obvious script symbols descended from the Harappan, doubtless had certain values, though we do not know what they were. Fr. Heras had studied all the signs except the chalcolithic graffiti, which were unknown then.

that preserved the ancient Egyptian tongue as the medium of its religious rites. The hornets that buzzed around his head went back to nest long after he died. Even if a bilingual inscription containing, say, Brahmi and Indus characters, were discovered, the language problem will still remain and have to be tackled separately. A mere knowledge of the sounds of the Indus signs can give no indication of the language in which they have to be so sounded. The probability of that language having been Dravidian, rather proto-Dravidian, cannot be peremptorily brushed aside.

The chances of unearthing a bilingual record not being very bright, the problem of arriving at the sound values of the Harappan signs has to be approached from another angle. In the case of the Egyptian and Sumerian scripts the passage was from sound values to language, whereas in that of the Harappan it is the other way round. That is what Fr. Heras has shown. If his working hypothesis has, by providing a fresh perspective and adding a new dimension to world history, yielded much unforeseen and almost incredible results as it has, it is up to others to prove the contrary, instead of summarily dismissing it and endlessly awaiting a Rosetta stone—or merely sitting on the fence.

Fr. Heras tantalisingly withheld the decipherment key for a while, though purveying sufficient succulent morsel to apparently whet the scholarly appetite. The pungent Dravidian fare, however, failed to tickle the jaded palate. Was it too pungent to savour ?

Does it mean, then, that Fr. Heras' effort has evoked no proper response at all ? Far from it. The decade's end has witnessed some favourable developments.

Lahovary[7] has posited a pre-Indo-European, incorporating and polysynthetic linguistic substratum for the entire

---

7 *Lahovary, La Diffusion des Langues Anciennes du Proche-Orient : Leurs Relations avec le Basque, le Dravidien et les Parlers Indo-Europeens Primitifs.* Berne, Francke, 1957. English translation : *Dravidian Origins and the West : Newly Discovered Ties with the Ancient Culture and Languages, including Basque, of the pre-Indo-European Mediterranean World.* Orient Longmans, 1963.

region, extending from India to Spain, where the only modern vestiges are Dravidian, Caucasian and Basque. The *dead branches of this prolific linguistic tree were, besides* others, Sumerian, Hurrian, Elamite, Cappadocian, Carian, Pelasgian and Ligurian. He further avers that the speakers of this linguistic group ushered in the neolithic revolution and the subsequent chalcolithic civilisations. He also points out that this vast fertile crescent had not only linguistic and cultural but also racial (Mediterranean) unity, which was later shattered by Semitic and Indo-European invaders. Balakrishna Nair, delivering the 1962 Sir William Meyer lecture at the Madras university, used Lahovary's findings and concluded that Fr. Heras' thesis that the Harappan language was Dravidian was clearly not fantastic! [8]

Has the tide turned? There is still, however, the question of Indian contribution to western cultures through Sumer to be faced squarely. Present-day opinion is that the neolithic (e.g. Jericho—c. 6000 B.C., Jarmo—c. 4800 B.C.) and Urban (the first being Sumerian) revolutions started in West-Asia and spread to India and elsewhere. Harappa,—*it is said—if not the result of a direct chalcolithic* migration from Iraq-Iran, must have evolved out of some neolithic peasant culture, say, Kile Gul Mohammed (3500-3100 B.C.), which owed its origin to Iran. Fr. Heras put forward no theory regarding the beginnings of the Indian neolithic [9] and chalcolithic.[10] He, however, vigorously con-

---

8 *The Sunday Standard*, Jan. 13, 1963.

9 Kile Gul Mohammed or any other Indian neolithic centre need not have owed its origin to Iran. The conditions for the neolithic revolution, namely, the wild flora and fauna for domestication, were available in the neighbourhood and the transition from hunting to agriculture could have taken place independent of external inspiration, though later than elsewhere. Man was certainly resourceful enough to have crossed the neolithic hurdle at different sites, albeit not simultaneously. Prof. Braidwood's warning to diffusionists at the Conference on Asian Archaeology in 1961 not to interpret all cultural trends in terms of the Near East, just because they know it best, has been quite timely.

10 To which particular peasant culture Harappa owed *its beginnings* cannot be decided until virgin soil has been reached at several sites in the Indus valley through scientific stratigraphy. Nobody knows what is in store for us below the explored levels. Wheeler's work at Harappa site

tended that the Sumerian civilisation with its pictophonographic script, special glyptic designs, elaborate town-planning and advanced religious systems,—regarded by most until recently as transplanted into Mesopotamia from outside during the Uruk (or Early Proto-literate) period,—was definitely Harappan.

Uruk red ware has been generally considered to have come from the neighbourhood of North Syria. Since, however, no great culture is known to have flourished there that early and since the main item of Sumerian culture was the temple, the beginnings of which had already appeared in the earliest period of the South-Mesopotamian sequence, namely, proto-Ubaid, Sumerian civilisation is now thought to be a natural growth out of proto-Ubaid under a North-Syrian impulse.[11] To provide sufficient time for such growth some Sumerologists, basing their calculations mainly on the unproven assumption of a 100|140- year average life of ancient temples, have inflated pre-Sargonid chronology to cover a span of nearly 2500 years, about 850 of which they have assigned to Early Dynastic, 400 to Jemdet Nasr, 450 to Uruk, 500 to Ubaid and 350 to proto-Ubaid, thus bringing it as close to Jarmo neolithic as possible.[12] Conscious, however, of impossibility of verification of their basic assumption, they have admitted that the chronology could be deflated.[13] This apart, it is difficult to see how a North-Syrian culture, not particularly superior to Ubaid, could have provided the necessary incentive to the Ubaid folk to

---

below the citadel defences was rather perfunctory. Khan's dig at Kot Diji has not helped very much. Their contention that the unslipped dull red ware at the earliest level marked the peasant culture from which Harappa developed has been disputed by the excavators of Kalibangan, who think that ware was part and parcel of the Harappan ceramic complex. Perhaps, the present American effort at Mohenjo-daro would point towards an answer. Harappa was not a city-state but an empire, comprising the Indus basin and a wide area far beyond and so the answer may not be as simple as surmised.

11 Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East* (Evergreen Edition, 1957), pp. 119, 124.

12 *Id.*, pp. 170-171, 232-233.

13 *Id.*, p. 238.

rise to the occasion,[14] unless, of course, it meant an invasion, about which the archaeological record is silent. All indications are to the effect that Sumerian civilisation went to the delta of the twin rivers from the east, in accordance with the Sumerians' own tradition of their origin in Dilmun,[15]—"the place where the sun rises" and to which Zinsudra, the Sumerian Noah, was transported after death, by the gods, to live as an immortal, an important maritime city-state, abounding in barley, dates and timber, importing goods from the whole then known world and exporting, besides other things, timber and ivory.

The plain red ware,—a symbol of utilitarian efficiency and occupying a dominant place in the Harappan ceramic outfit,—was considered different from Uruk red ware without any compelling reasons. The whole problem needs to be looked into *de novo*, especially because of its association with just those things,—script, town-planning, advanced religion, etc.,—that made Sumerian civilisation what it was.

The stumbling block for most western .scholars is Wheeler's relative chronology for Harappa, i.e., 2500—1500 B.C., based on Harappan contacts with Sumer during largely Akkadian times. Between Harappa and Sumer there are plenty of similarities but their provanance can be argued either way, unless they are typically Indian, in which case their occurrence in Sumer can be explained only on the basis of borrowing from India.

The typically Indian humped bull was found painted, —once in a scene of worship,—on scarlet ware from Early

---

14 Childe's (*op. cit.*, p. 124) suggestion that the outside influence was Semitic is rather off the mark, since the Semites from the western desert had hardly any worthwhile culture, at that time, that could have sparked off the grand Sumerian achievements.

15 Kramer (letter to the editor, *The Times of India*, dated Jan. 29, 1961) has identified Dilmun with Harappa, since Bahrain, generally identified with Dilmun, has yielded to the Danish archaeologists hardly enough evidence to warrant the above description. Fr. Heras favoured the Bahrain-Dilmun equation and identified Harappa with Magan of the Sumerian records, which, however, do not speak of it in such glowing terms as Dilmun.

Dynastic levels of Sumer and Elam. The same animal was carved on a cylinder seal from Ur. It was also carved on a steatite cup from Tell Agrab and asphalt vases from Susa. Many clay figurines of the animal were recovered from the latter site. A bunch of golden peepul leaves,[16]—typically Indian,—turned up at Ur. At Tell Asmar was found a cylinder seal with an elephant and two each of crocodile and rhinoceros, done in typical Indian style, as if by an Indian artist. Whoever he was, he could have got the idea of the elephant only from India where, to judge from animal remains and glyptic art, the elephant had been domesticated even in Harappan times. A piece of wood picked up from the temple of the moon-goddess at Mukheir has been identified as Indian teak. Of the 30-odd seals, with the Harappan script, from Sumer even the most conservative opinion considers one or two as pre-Accadian, i.e. at least Early Dynastic. The stone pots with the hut design, widespread in West Asia can be traced to Harappa, where one was found in the earliest Mohenjo-daro level, and another in a late level.[17]

Three cylinder seals studied by Frankfort can be cited as evidence of Harappan contacts with Sumer during Jemdet Nasr times. They depict elephant-like creatures. One shows the *taurelephantus,* found in some Harappan seals. Even if the whole composite animal was not Indian-inspired, at least the elephant part must have been. A Jemdet Nasr seal with thirteen unicorns, done in typical Indian style familiar from many a Harappan seal, is noteworthy. The lion-hunt stele from the Jemdet Nasr layer[18] at Uruk is interesting. The hunters look like Semites. The desert from which they came was no place for lions, nor was Sumer. Even if the Sumerian lapidary depicted Sumerians in Semitic guise,

---

16 Wrongly identified as birch leaves by Woolley.

17 Piggott's contention (*op. cit.*, pp. 115-117) that the hut-pots and scarlet ware painting repertoire originated in Kulli culture is unconvincing, since there is nothing specially Baluchi about the hut-pots and since the humped bull was a native of the Indian plains, not Baluchi hills.

18 According to some the stele was a votive offering made to a temple of the Uruk period.

as some think, he could have got the lion motif only from India, where the animal has always been native.

The lion motif carries Indo-Sumerian contacts right down to the Uruk period and the beginnings of Sumerian civilisation. Vide the Gilgamesh seals, dating from the earliest Sumeriān times and depicting the lion-fighter. Apart from the motif itself the theme seems almost a replica of that on certain Harappan ones.

We have, indeed, come a long way since the days of Vincent Smith who had once said India had no prehistory. The Roman sage who sang : *ex oriente lux*, had he been alive today, would have seen greater significance in his dictum than he did then. Scholars, particularly western, have to contend boldly with the problem of the indebtedness of western civilisation to India through the Near East. The *quid boni-a-Nazareth* attitude needs drastic revision.

The Goddess of Forests in Tamil Literature

C. G. DIEHL

The subject will be restricted to dealing with feminine beings having the word for forest or wilderness as part of their names, i.e. Sanskrit Araṇya and Tamil Kāṭu.

Rigveda X, 146 is addressed to Araṇyānī, or the wilderness as a feminine being, translated by Geldner as "Frau des Waldes".[1] She is mentioned only in this and coordinated texts. The commentary of Nirukta IX, 30 runs: "Wilderness (Araṇyānī) is the wife of desert. The seer addresses her with the words: 'O Wilderness (Araṇyānī) how is it that thou who disappearest in deserts[2] [i.e. forests] like one directed to some place onwards doest not seek the village'" etc.[3] There is no Nirukta commentary to the other slokas of the hymn. In Bṛhad-devatā's list of gods and myths in the Rigveda the hymn X: 146 is quoted as "meant to repel a rival wife".[4] The Taittiriya Brahmana 2, 5, 5, 6 and 7 simply repeats the text of the Rigveda. In the Atharvaveda we find Araṇyānī in one place (12, 2, 53) considered by Griffith[5] as

---

[1] Der Rig-Veda, übersetzt von K. F. Geldner, *III*, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 35, 1951, 379. Cp. "The jungle goddess". "The forest as a whole appears as a deity" (A. A. Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, Strassburg, 1897, p. 154).

[2] Geldner takes the corresponding Sanskrit word to be a repetition of the vocative and has only "die du fast verschwunden bist" (ibid.).

[3] The Nighantu and the Nirukta by Lakshman Sarup, English translation and notes, Oxford 1921, p. 149.

[4] VIII, B 57. The Bṛhad-devatā; attributed to Saunaka. A summary of the deities and myths of the Rig-Veda, ed. by A. A. Macdonell, II, translation and notes, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 6, 1904, p. 308.

[5] Hymns of the Atharva Veda, translated by R. H. T. Griffith, Benares, 1895, II, p. 110.

the wilderness as such: "Seek the dark wood and the wilderness (Araṇyânīm)", while Whitney-Lanman translates it "forest spirit".[6]

It is remarkable that Araṇyānī is not found in the epics, because the forest with its inhabitants, dangers and conditions of life occupies much space in them. The dwelling in the forest is in fact an integral part of epic literature. Such narratives are found in both the Mahabharata[7] and the Ramayana[8] and also in the famous Tamil epic poem Cilappatikāram. This poem has a chapter Kāṭukāṉ Kātai as a counterpart to Nāṭukāṉ Kātai, which deals with life in the inhabited area. The words Nāṭu and Kāṭu represent two opposites somewhat like the Nordic "Midgârd" and "Utgârd".[9] Nāṭu is the place where men live and till the soil. Kāṭu is the forest and the wilderness, the part of the country where man has not built his house or grown his crops

The Tamils divided their country of old into five regions, Tiṇai.[10] Among these regions Pālai comes nearest to Kāṭu. The lexicon describes it as "arid, desert tract, aridity, barrenness".[11] Comparable are also Kuṟiñci, the mountainous region, and Mullai, forest and grazing grounds. The five regions represent different customs and manners and are fixed not only with reference to different types of landscape but even more on account of the occupational pursuits of the inhabitants. A connection between Kāṭu and Pālai may be found in the place name Palghat in the western part of S. India. It is a combination of Pālai and Kāṭu and reads in Tamil Pālaikkāṭu. A hybrid is found in the combination Pālaivaṉam (from Sanskrit Vana, forest). More obvious connections exist with regard to the "Spirit of the forest".

---

[6] Atharva-Veda Samhita, Harvard Oriental Series 7 and 8, II, 1905, p. 682.

[7] Araṇyakaparvam, Mhb 30. [8] Araṇyakāṇḍa.

[9] W. Grönbech, Midgârd och Menneskelivet, Copenhagen, 1912, p. 34.

[10] See Tamil Lexicon, Madras, 1926–36 under Aintiṇai.

[11] Tamil Lexicon ad hoc.

The god of the Pālai is the virgin deity Kaṉṉi[11] and there are a number of goddesses with the word Kāṭu as the first part of their names, e.g Kātukiḷāḷ, Kāṭukāl, etc. In the same way we find Pālaikkiḷatti, the mistress of the Kāṭu and the Pālai respectively. The other regions have no such feminine deity, but Kuṟiñci has an exact masculine counterpart Kuṟiñcikkiḷavaṉ, the lord of Kuṟiñci. He is well known in S. India under the name of Murukaṉ and has his temples on hilltops in many places. As such, he has been closely connected or identified with Subrahmaṇya of the Saivite pantheon.

All those goddesses are in the lexica given as manifestations of Durgā, a simplification which does not add to clarity. What can be said is that lonely wanderers have met with a woman in the forest and have given a description of her which makes her recognizable in many places.

The Vedic hymn referred to above has in its third and fourth slokas a description of Araṇyānī which brings her in line with the forest goddesses of S. India. She is mockingly deceitful as the forest itself. She represents "die Sinnestäuschungen im Walde zur Abendzeit", says Geldner.[13] Macdonell explains it in this way: "The uncanny sounds heard in her dark solitudes are weirdly described."[14] It is as if cows were ruminating. The wanderer thinks he sees a house and hears a cart squeaking. It is the Lady of the forest.[15] He who spends the night in the woods hears the voice of someone crying.[16]

The forest is uncanny. The first lines of the hymn give expression to the astonishment of the singer to see the Lady of the forest disappear (into the depth of the woods, according to Nirukta), instead of going in the direction of the vil-

---

[11] A. Singaravelu Mudaliar, Abidhana Chintamani, p. 1100.
[13] Der Rig-Veda III, p. 380, note.
[14] A. A. Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, Strassburg, 1897, p. 154.
[15] Rigveda X, 146, 3.
[16] Rigveda X, 146, 4.

lage. She is a stranger and is addressed: "Hallo there!"[17] It is part of the delusion of the forest that one does not know who it is one has caught sight of. The hunter sees somebody in the forest but he does not know if it is a goddess, a peacock or a beautiful woman.[18]

Men are afraid of the Lady of the forest but take consolation from the knowledge that she will not kill them if they do not come too near.[19] The immediate purpose of the hymn is given in the sixth sloka: "I have sung your praise" and in so doing the singer has presented her as "Nach salbe riechend, duftig, speisereich (Bahvannām) auch ohne Pflügen".[20]

A delusive, beautiful lady of the forest, whose intrigues and wrath frighten people, stands before us in this hymn, about which Oldenberg, not unexpectedly, says: "The hymn is late but its contents old."[21]

Oldenberg finds parallels to the gods of the wilderness in Buddhist tradition and remarks on the paucity of such figures in the Rigveda as well as in the Atharva.[22] There is no question that such gods and demons would have been entirely missing in Vedic times.[23] Popular religious conceptions of today hold innumerable examples of similar beings. The material is vast and not yet classified to allow a survey.

---

[17] Geldner: "Heda." Cp. the use of the pronoun "Asau als Substitut für N. N.", G. Liebert, Zum Gebrauch des W-demonstrativa im ältesten Indoiranischen, Lunds Universitets Årsskrift, N. F., avd. 1, bd 50, nr 9, 1954, p. 46.

[18] Kural 1081. Tirukkural. Published by the South India Saiva Siddhanta Works, Madras, 1937, p. 426. Comparable to the expression used by L. Renou: "La Yogeśvarī de la Rājataraṅgiṇī est une sorte de Lorelei indienne" (L'Inde classique I, Paris, 1947, p. 528).

[19] Rigveda X, 146, 5.

[20] Geldner, op. cit., 380.

[21] H. Oldenberg, op. cit., 258.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Op. cit., 259.

The Mahabharata knows terrible demons in the forest, mostly of the male sex. Its third book, the Vanaparva, chapter 11, has for its heading "Kirmīravadhaparva". Kirmīra was a Rākṣasa in the Kāmyaka forest "with eight teeth standing out, with eyes of copper hue, and with the hair of his head blazing and standing erect..."[34]

In South India there are plenty of female forest spirits. A few of them resembling Araṇyānī are given below.

Kāṭamarcelvi

"The rich Lady of the forest people" (Kāṭamar). According to TL[35], she is "*Durgā as dwellling in the forest*".

Kāṭṭēṟi

"Forest dweller", the most common representative in popular Hinduism of today. The lexicon characterizes her merely as "an evil spirit".

Kāṭukāḷ, Kāṭukiḻāḷ, Kāṭukiḻavōḷ

All three are varieties of the same theme "the Mistress of the forest". The dictionaries call them "Durgā as goddess of the forest". The first name Kāṭukāḷ can be translated as "the black woman of the forest". Literally the last to mean "the woman who belongs to or possesses the forest". Just as Pālaikkiḻatti (and Pālaikkuriyavaḷ mean "the woman who belongs to are possesses Pālai".

Kāṭukeḻucelvi

This is a variant of Kāṭamarcelvi and means "the rich Lady who lives in the forest". The word Celvi is generally used as a respectful term of address to a woman added after the name. Most of all, however, the word refers to the goddess of wealth, Lakshmī, and its use here can indicate a

---

[34] The Mahabharata, translated by Protap Chandra Roy, vol. 3, Vana Parva, Calcutta, 1884, p. 32.

[35] The Tamil Lexicon, Madras, 1926–36, hereafter quoted as TL.

raising of the Lady of the forest to a position of rank in the Hindu pantheon. It is also reasonable to connect Celvi with Bahvannā "rich at food", the Rigvedic epithet of Araṇyānī.

Information about Kāṭṭeṟi can be had through folklore queries only. She has no place in literature. In daily life however, she plays a considerable part. Amulets are worn as protection against her nefarious activities, but she may, on the other hand, be approached for help at childbirth.[26] "The Hindus worship her as the goddess of the forest lest evil should befall and destroy them."[27]

About Kāṭukāḷ-Kāṭukiḷāḷ the reference book just quoted says she is a Śakti, a goddess of the forest, and adds a list of alternative names: Moṭi, which the TL wants to connect with a word meaning "height, eminence", but which is more likely related to an identical word moṭi meaning "arrogance, show, deceit",[28] Kāritāy "the black mother" (cp. Kāṭukāḷ above), Koṟṟi or Koṟṟavai, "Durgā as the goddess of victory",[29] from Koṟṟam, victory, but assumed by TL to come from the root Kol, kill, which gives a more sinister aspect to the goddess—Araṇyānī also was known to kill[30]—Pāri, a word with many meanings—it can mean "earth" or "wife" (Sanskrit Bhāryā)—Cūri, by the lexicon also given as Durgā and "goddess of the forest"[31] with reference to an old lexicographic work.[32] Vaṭuki is a similar lexicographic loan connecting the goddess with the Telugu people living north (Vaṭu vaṭa, north) of the Tamil country. The TL identifies her with Kāḷi, the mother of Bhairava. Finally Mūtaṉaṅku, "the old damsel", also said to be Durgā.[33]

---

[26] C. G. Diehl, Instrument and Purpose, Lund, 1956, pp. 273 and 180.
[27] A. Singaravelu Mudaliar, Abidhana Chintamani, Madras, 1934, [p. 403.
[28] TL, ad loc.
[29] TL, ad loc.
[30] Rigveda H, 146, 5.
[31] TL, ad loc.
[32] Piṅkalanikaṇṭu.
[33] Anaṅku is given in TL as "celestial damsel" or "demoness".

This list of names hardly warrants any other conclusion than a recognition of a goddess of the wilderness. She is not, however, any goddess or demon. The list implies a definite selection from among an endless number of female demons and divine beings, but it does not clearly indicate what characteristics have formed the selective principle. To some extent Durgā serves as a common denominator, but until we know in full who Durgā is, the connection seems to be nothing more than a vague attempt to explain "the Lady of the forest" by means of a more well-known type.

There are, however, some distinct features brought to light in Tamil literature. In one of the three extant Mahākāvya of the Tamil literature,[34] the Maṇimēkalai by Cittalai Cāttanār, the poem about Kōvalan's daughter, who became a Buddist nun, there is a passsage on Kātamarcelvi's temple. The commentator says she is identical with Kātukiḷāḷ and Durgā.

This gains further support from the description of Kāṭamar Celvi given in the poem (18 : 115–116), where she is pictured as standing with a beggar's bowl alleviating the hunger of the devils.[35] The story about Maṇimēkalai tells how she was given such a bowl and fed the poor.[36] A similar story is found in the Mahabharata. " The sun then showed himself to Yudhiṣṭhira and gave him a copper vessel, saying that if Pāñcālī [i.e. Kriśṇā [37]] kept this vessel, fruits, roots, meat and vegetables cooked in their kitchen would be inexhaustible for twelve years." [38]

The rich Lady of the forest is a suitable name for a woman who provides food from a bowl, which never becomes empty. Bahvannā she is indeed.

---

[34] L'Inde classique II, p. 309 sq.

[35] Tamil "Kaṭi" – Pēy.

[36] Maṇimēkalai, 11th song, Pattiram peṟṟa kātai.

[37] Name of Draupadi (Apte's Sanskrit Lexicon).

[38] III: 2, § 310 from S. Sörenson, An index to the names in the Mahabharata, London, 1904, p. 66.

She has other features, however. Her temple is next to the burning ground, which, lying outside the dwelling place of men, is called Kāṭu, i.e. Cuṭukāṭu, and is described as a big place with four gates and an altar in the middle. The temple is surrounded by trees with their branches lowered by the weight of heads of men, who with unwavering mind have paid their "life debts" by tying their heads to the branches and then cutting them off. The commentator calls it Avippali (from Sanskrit Havis-Bali), and the TL has along with the Vedic meaning "oblation" also "warrior's offering his own life in fulfilment of a vow". No further explanation of Kāṭukiḷāḷ is given. The Mistress of the wilderness is connected with death and lives in terrible surroundings of corpses—the narrative excels in atrocious body-snatching by demons—and also receives life as an offering from faithful devotees.[39]

Under her other name, Kāṭukeḷucelvi, she is mentioned in the oldest extant literature in Tamil, Tolkāppiyam, but only in passing as an example of cult to be observed on the second day of the lunar month, Paraṇināḷ, when she is to be given porridge and honoured with tuṇaṅkai dance.[40]

The Forest Spirit is also found in Cilappatikāram, another great poem of the Tamils,[41] where the story of Kōvalaṉ, the father of Maṇimēkalai, and his wife Kaṇṇaki is told. These two leave their own place, Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṉam, the port on the east coast, and travel towards Maturai, the old capital of the Pandya kingdom, farther to the South. They can choose one of three roads, and they decide to proceed on a road which partly runs through Kaāṭu. A sage tells them

---

[39] Maṇimēkalai 6. 53 Edited by V. P. P. M. Kacivicuvanatan Cettiyar (1946) 1951. This is not the place to deal with the double meaning given to the burning ground by the Buddhist authors.

[40] Tolkāppiyam: Poruḷatikāram, 461 com. The Tuṇaṅkai dance is described by TL as "A kind of dance in which the arms bent at the elbows are made to strike against the sides".

[41] Out of the five recognized Mahākāvyas three are preserved, viz. Cilappatikāram, Maṇimēkalai and Jīvaka Cintāmaṇi.

about a divine being living in the forest and appearing as a beautiful woman, who bars the way of the travellers without doing them any harm. Kōvalaṉ and his wife proceed on their route, and when Kaṇṇaki, who is tired of walking, sits down to rest, Kōvalaṉ makes his way to a water tank to quench his thirst. Just then the Forest Spirit stands in front of him as a young woman full of amorous desire. She has the flowers of spring in her hair, and trembling like the stalk of a flower, she falls at Kōvalaṉ's feet weeping. Kōvalaṉ, however, has been warned beforehand and has been taught a Mantra by the sage, which makes him able to see through the behaviour of the beautiful woman. She recognizes the Mantra as given by "the woman who rides on a stag" (lexicon: Durgā) and says: "My power is restricted. Go now!" and goes away herself.[43]

There is yet another expression which may indicate the mocking character of the Forest Spirit, Kāṭukiḷāḷveyil, literally "the sunlight of the Forest Spirit". The TL explains it as "refracted light at sunset" and gives a reference to Cilappaatikāram 4, 5. There is a description of the conditions prevailing between the rule of the sun and the moon respectively, i.e. dusk, although this word is not used. The dim light and the false brightness over the treetops, when the sun has already set, is the background for the acting of the Forest Spirit. She cannot be trusted.

---

[43] Cilappatikāram by Ilankovati ed. with a commentary by Vencatacami Nattar, Madras, (1942) 1950, Kāṭukāṉ Kātai, vss. 140–200, pp. 269–273. Comp. Shilappadikaram (ou le Dit de l'anneau), published through Unesco, Gallimard, Paris, 1957.

The Origin and Development of Barter Trade

S. SINGARAVELU

The practice of exchanging goods for goods is regarded as a *stage* in the development of economic relations. That is to say, among the earliest people there was *not* the practice of exchanging goods for goods, or what is known as 'pure barter', but there was the practice of making gifts on a reciprocal basis. Some of the gifts would seem to have been somewhat instinctive as in the giving of food and drink to guests and strangers. In the Tamil language, the term *viruntu* (விருந்து) which connotes in modern usage a sumptuous feast given to friends and relatives, signified originally the hospitality offered to wayfarers, and its primitive sense was *newness*, and the derivative, *viruntinar* (விருந்தினர்) therefore signified literally *newcomers* or *strangers*.[1] Some of the gifts were also religious in nature as in offerings to the deities,[2] made with the aim of obtaining some benefits or blessings in return. Some other gifts were simply social for the purpose of facilitating both formal and informal relations among people of diverse or of the same origin. Whatever the forms which the early practice of giving gifts assumed, it is significant to note that the early practice of making gifts of food on a reciprocal basis among the ancient Tamil people, would seem to have survived to this day in the form of a taboo which forbids a Tamil householder to return an empty vessel or utensil to another householder who had sent some food in it as gift; instead, the recipient of such gifts is expected to send some food in turn, and if he has no cooked-food to send, he should at least send

---

1 R. P. Sethu Pillai, *Words and their Significance*, p. 53.

2 *Porunarāṟṟupadai*, 182-4; *Tirumurugāṟṟupadai*, 232-4; *Perumpāṇaṟṟupadai*, 104-5; *Maduraikkāñji*, 456-460.

a handful of some food-grains like rice. The modern custom of giving special gifts to friends on important occasions would also seem to be a continuation of the ancient practice of exchanging gifts on a reciprocal basis.

As for the practice of giving gifts of food, there are a number of references in the classical Tamil poetry, especially those poems dealing with the early chieftains and rulers, to the large-scale provision of food and drink, which were served by the chieftains of various regions to the bardic troupes and their members who frequently stopped at the chieftains' prosperous settlements in the course of their travels from place to place obviously in search of food and new patrons. On those occasions of grand feasts, the bards and their associates are known to have been fed rather sumptuously with large amount of cooked rice (*பெருஞ் சோறு*)[3] together with meat dripping with fat and also a great quantity of drink which poured like rain (*"மழை யென மருஞ மகிழ்செய் மாடத்து"*)[4] for a number of days. A vivid account of such overwhelming hospitality is given by the bard, Mudathamakanniar in the *Porunararrupadai* in which he says :

> "The morning star arose and widely spread its rays in the thick darkness of the morning. The king wished to treat me as friend and welcomed me so as to make me wish to ask him always for hospitality and thus give him a chance to do his bounteous deeds. He placed me near him so that he might keep me in sight. He looked at me with longing eyes......
>
> The smiling maids poured out repeatedly from golden vessels much stupefying drink like the cheering rain......Inviting urgently, the king welcomed us. And after having completed the formalities, in due course he asked us more than once, to eat the

3 *Puranānūru*, 177 : 13-15 ; 235 : 1-6; 216 : 2-3.

4 *Porunarāṟṟupadai*, 84.

well-cooked haunches of rams. We ate this meat by changing it from one side of the mouth to the other (probably because of getting tired on one side) and we were cloyed by eating much....My teeth quite lost their edges because of eating much meat.... One day, we gently said, 'O Renowned King, we wish to return to our settlements'. The king was vexed, and asked with seeming angry look, 'Would you in haste give up this bounteous food?' Yet, he gave us elephants and calves as gifts......that were worth according to his means".[5]

Such hospitality or feast which was its manifestation was indeed the custom of accommodating guests or strangers who were in need of shelter, food, and protection. Among the early Tamil people, such hospitality was found in a pronounced form among agriculturists (வேளாளர்) probably because of the abundance of food-grains like paddy rice that were available for their own consumption as well as the consumption of other people.[6]

Although such hospitality might have been due to a spontaneous feeling of sympathy for strangers, it would also seem to have been regulated by certain other factors such as fear of a stranger who appeared as the bearer of magic powers and perhaps certain mystical attributes, or the desire to achieve importance by the display of one's own wealth, or the desire to hear and exchange news of other regions, and the most important of all, the need of articles of trade from other regions.

On occasions of such great hospitality, the bard, because of his important role as leader of the visiting troupe, is known to have been the centre of attention. ("கண்ணிற் காணா நண்ணு வழி இரீஇப், பருகுவன்ன வருகா நோக்கமொடு")[7] The main reason why the bard alone was treated

5 *Porunarāṟṟupadai*, 71-130.

6 "Vēlānmai which denotes cultivation has acquired the sense of hospitality."—R. P. Sethu Pillai, *Words and their Significance*, p. 11.

7 *Porunarāṟṟupadai*, 76-77.

with so much reverence and respect on the part of the host, might perhaps be attributed to the fact that the bard appeared as the bearer of magic powers and mystical attributes which were so much reminiscent of his predecessor, the shaman. In this connection, one might cite the interpretation with regard to the origin of early Tamil bards and poets in the study entitled *Typology of Ancient Indian Education,*[8] in which the writer has pointed out that the predecessor of the Tamil bard was the shaman who carried out certain multiple social functions such as averting illness, depredations and similar calamities, and also interpreting omens in the earliest communities.[9] The writer further points out that the religious and spiritual functions of the shaman became differentiated as society increased in numbers and cultural complexity. From the shaman developed the priest and the ascetic on the one hand, and the bard, later the poet, and then philosopher on the other. "Though the earliest Tamil poetical anthologies reflect a predominantly bardic and poetic stage of educators, they contain traces of shamanistic functions, which because of the reasons arguing their antiquity, are to be considered survivals and retentions of still earlier stages of culture".[10] The possibility that the bard, Mudathamakanniar, whose evidence on the sumptuous feast was quoted above, might have been regarded as a bard who was still capable of shamanistic functions, would seem to be implied in his own reference to the manner in which he took care of his bodily health. ("தவஞ் செய் மாக்கள் தம்முடம் பிடாஅது, அதன் பயமெய்திய அளவை மான")[11]

Another important reason which might have been most instrumental in showering such great hospitality on the bardic troupes, would seem to have been the need of articles

8 Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, *The Typology of Ancient Indian Education*, in Paedagogica Historica III, 2, Blandijnberg, 1963.

9 *Ibid*, p. 359.

10 *Ibid*, p. 358.

11 *Porunarāṟṟupaḍai*, 91–92.

of trade which could be obtained through reciprocal exchange of gifts of articles between the members of the visiting troupe and the local people of the chieftain's settlement. Such a reciprocal exchange of gifts might have represented an early form of trade. As to the manner in which the exchange of gifts was carried out, the Tamil bards do not seem to say much except referring to certain formalities which they had to carry out as leader of the visiting troupe on meeting the chieftain[12] and to the food offered by the host to the guests, and gifts given to the bards by the chieftains, probably in recognition and appreciation of their most valuable services in organising their troupes or band and leading their members to the chieftain's region. Or perhaps the exchange of gifts between the members of visiting troupe and the local people of the settlement might not all have been 'visible' to the leader of the visiting troupe. If this is so, such a situation might be said to have a parallel in modern times in the invisible 'tourist' trade in major cities of tourist interest. That is to say, although one might read in the daily newspapers that so many tourists arrived from such and such country at such and such ports, we may not be in a position to know how much shopping was done by the visiting tourists, thereby contributing to the economy of the country visited, unless we have the facility to look at the annual financial statistics which might give details of tourist trade. Similarly in the ancient Tamil country, while the leaders of the visiting troupe, the bards, were exchanging their pleasantries and praises with the chieftains in return for good food and subsequently symbolic gifts like garlands or flower petals made of gold, the members of his troupe which perhaps consisted of ordinary people as well, might have been exchanging gifts of articles on reciprocal basis. And when the time came for the troupes to move on to new settlements or to return to their own settlements, and if their leader or spokesman, namely, the bard should express the wish to go before the exchange of gifts was completed,

12 *Ibid*, 102. : "[illegible]"

the chieftain was not very happy, for the reason that if the bard were to leave, he would miss the company and entertainment of the bard, and also for the reason that his subjects might not have all completed the exchange of gifts. Therefore the chieftain who was playing host to the bardic troupe, would rather purposly seem to procrastinate giving his own personal gifts to the bard, and this practice would seem to have evolved into a literary theme (*பரிசில் நீட்டித்தல்*) of Tamil poetic convention in *Puram* poetry. Some of the bards of course expressed annoyance at this calculated delay (*பரிசில் கடாநிலை*), although they were certain in their own minds that they would receive their gifts from their princely patron. When the proper time came for the departure, that is to say, when all gift transactions were completed to mutual satisfaction, then the chieftain gave elephants as his parting gifts, which must have been very useful to the bardic troupes to move from one place to the other, with members of his troupe following them in search of a new settlement and yet another patron.

This practice of exchanging gifts for purposes of trade which might be described as 'gift-barter', did not last long, for it was soon followed by 'pure barter', i.e. exchange of goods for goods on a purely commercial basis. The bards also might have ceased to act as chief promoters or intermediaries of the 'gift-barter', because that role was assumed by individual traders with the development of growing commercial activity.

However, many of the bardic troupes still led a wandering life in search of hospitality. By that time also, some of the bards had relinquished their panegyric and middlemen role and had emerged as "poets of a complex and wealthy stage of society and as persons having authority, scholarship and learning". Some of the bards would also seem to have taken up the occupation of traders. Nevertheless, the remnants of the bardic profession survived, and probably they were the people who are referred to as *iravalar* (*இரவலர்*) in the poems of *Puranānūru* anthology. The term, *iravalar* denoted those who begged for hospitality. But it

should be borne in mind that these persons who were known as *iravalar* were not actually beggars in the modern sense of the term. In fact, it is believed that ancient societies had no beggars and that begging has been a phenomenon closely associated with the emergence of private property. But the fact remains that the wandering bards came to be known as *iravalar* or those who asked for hospitality, and those who extended their hospitality to such persons, were known as their protectors or *puravalar* (புரவலர்). At this stage, begging or requesting hospitality, would seem to have been an honourable act, and the giving of alms which was known as *ihai* (ஈகை) or *kodai* (கொடை) which should perhaps be distinguished from giving gift (பரிசில்), a meritorious deed. The remnants of the bardic profession belonging to this intermediate period who sought hospitality from chieftains and rulers, probably expected their donors to play host to them for a number of days, in keeping with the tradition of the earlier bards who were looked after with great care and affection on account of their usefulness in promoting 'gift-barter'. Probably the kings of this period saw no such need as there were already the traders to conduct the trade, and there were the court minstrels or poets to counsel them on matters of wisdom and learning; nevertheless, since the ruling monarch usually belonged to the long Royal line of kings noted for their munificence and generosity, he too followed the tradition of giving the beseeching bard certain gifts and then quickly turning his attention to other important matters of state. Some of the bards would seem to have been annoyed at this abrupt treatment, and protested in a rather vehement and sarcasting vein by reminding the ruler that they were *not* the descendents of those bards who received their legitimate gifts by virtue of promoting trade. ("வாணிகப் பரிசிலன்கேலன்")[13]

With the disintegration of early forms of social organisation, especially after the beginning of the growing commercial activity in urban areas had disturbed the old

---

13 *Purananuru*, 208:7.

pastoral and agricultural economy, the cases of such begging on the part of surviving bards, would seem to have increased, and this would seem to be evident from the names of some bards like Arisilkiḻar (அரிசில் கிழார்), Ālatturkiḻar (ஆலத்தூர் கிழார்), Āvurkiḻar (ஆவூர் கிழார்), which indicate that they belonged to the groups of impoverished landed proprietors (கிழார்), who had to seek hospitality form patrons, because of the disruption of their earlier occupations.

There was also the belief of giving alms as part of the ritual of religious occasions. Owing to this belief, a great religious value has been placed upon the mendicants and their donors for many centuries now in Tamil country. That is to say, religion would seem to have given sanction to a 'profession' made necessary by social disorganisation. In this connection, it might be noted that the ascetic mendicant and the bardic mendicant, both of whose origin might be traced back to the earliest shaman, came together again as one group of people who happened to live by getting alms under religious sanction.

Development of Pure Barter

The practice of exchanging gifts for gifts on reciprocal basis was mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs. How did this gift-barter develop into 'pure barter?' When people began to consider returning gift for gift, a new stage, namely, 'gift-barter' developed. Probably at first there was no exact notion of equivalents. Perhaps at the earliest stage, it was enough that a goodwill gift be reciprocated by a return gift. The gifts so exchanged had indeed become reciprocal, probably accompanied by some sort of ceremonial. One of the most interesting examples of such gift-barter is so fascinatingly described by the bard, Mudathamakanniar who obviously was witnessing such a gift-barter :

> "Those who have honey and edible roots exchange them for the oil of fish and for deer flesh......
>
> The fisherfolk sing hillmen's songs, while the hillmen wear garlands of fragrant blooms of the coast.....

The pastoral dwellers sing the songs of those in fertile lands, and they in turn praise forest lands where the blue *mullai* grows."

"தேனெய்யொடு கிழங்குமாறியோர்
மீனெய்யோடு நறவுமறுகவும்
தீங்கரும்போ டவல்வகுத்தோர்
மான் குறையொடு மதுமறுகவும்
குறிஞ்சி பரதவர் பாடநெய்தல்
நறும் பூங்கண்ணி குறவர் சூடக்
கானவர் மருதம் பாட அகவர்
நீனிற முல்லைப் பஃறிணை நுவல" [14]

It is perhaps significant to note from the passage quoted above that ceremony and singing, and even exchanging of garlands were closely intertwined with the exchange of gifts of food. The garlands that were exchanged in this instance, were probably the forerunners of those garlands of lotus blooms made of gold, and of the necklaces of white, shining pearls which the early bard (*பாணன்*) and the bardess (*பாடினி*) respectively received as gifts [15] in recognition of their services of promoting such gift-barter.

What is more significant in this instance of exchanging gifts accompanied by exchange of garlands, is the fact that along with the social intercourse of gift-barter, went a dawning sense of objective values. The garlands made of ordinary blooms were valued in themselves, in so far as they were worn as symbols, or as the mere possession of them gave the people certain distinction. This concept of objective value coupled with the fact that gold was used among the early Tamil people for ornaments long before the days of money, might have been responsible for the tradition of ancient Tamil chieftains and rulers giving away gifts of gold ornaments to be used probably as the most common media of exchange by the bards in the course of their travels.

---

14 *Porunarāṟṟupadai*, 214-221.

15 *Porunarāṟṟupadai*, 159-162; *Perumpāṇāṟṟupadai*, 485-6; *Puranāṉūṟu*, 50 : 4; 126 : 2-3; 141 : 1.

When ornaments made of gold thus became capital, the prestige that accrued from wearing them must have increased, and therefore they were strung together and made into a garland of gold coins by the local goldsmith and worn mainly by women.

"ஆசில் கம்மியன் மாசறப் புனைந்த
பொலஞ்செய் பல்காசணிந்த. . ."—புறம். 353:1-2.

Now, coming back to barter and its development, the pure barter would seem to have finally come upon the scene as an exchange of goods with a developing sense of *equivalents*, not merely of good intentions but of *commodities*. Closely connected with the gift-barter in the ancient Tamil country was the open barter of goods. Thus one potful of kumiss was worth one identical basketful of paddy or deer meat, or fish or even certain pulses such as *perumpayaru* (பெரும்பயறு). Such a system of open barter[16] is mentioned in a poem of Puranānūru collection :

". . . . . வேட்டுவன்
மான்றசை சொரிந்த வட்டியுமாய் மகள்
தயிர்கொடு வந்த தசும்பு நிறைய
ஏரின் வாழ்நர் பேரிலரிவையர்
குளக்கீழ் விளைந்த களக்கொள் வெண்ணெல்
முகந்தனர் கொடுப்ப வுகந்தனர் பெயரும்"
—புறம். 33 : 1-6.

The existence of this kind of 'open barter' as an intermediate stage between gift-barter and money economy, presupposes the evolution of a single commodity, or ideally at first two important commodities into common measures of value for other commodities, before they were generally used as media of exchange. This single commodity or the two commodities which have been recognised for their instrinsic value as chief measures of value in the monetary systems of several countries in the world, have been either gold bullion or silver, or both. Although gold was used among the early

16 See also *Aingurunūru*, 47 : 1-3 ; 48 ; 1-3.

Tamils long before the days of money-economy, somehow it did not attain the position of the medium of exchange in the transitional period when open-barter was giving way to money exchange. According to some evidence that we have in the classical Tamil poetry, there was not one commodity, but there were indeed two commodities that were regarded as important and common measures of value in barter transactions. These commodities were the paddy and the salt.

Of all the important food-stuffs in their natural state, perhaps paddy and salt were best adapted to storage and commerce, and therefore suitable as common measures of value, because of their comparatively non-perishable nature.

As for paddy, one of the very important social benefit which was rather indirectly conferred by irrigation in early Tamil agriculture, was the paddy that came to be used as medium of exchange. That is to say, when irrigation and improved methods of cultivation produced *surplus* crops, a medium of exchange was provided.

As for salt, although it is at present considered an absolute necessity of human food, it would seem to have been used in the early days by people living only in certain regions who had reached a rather advanced stage of culture as a result of changes in living and food conditions. For example, people living largely on meat do not seem to have used any additional salt in their food ("உப்பிலாஅ வவிப் புழுக்கல்"),[17] simply because the meats themselves supplied a maximum of salt. However, as meat gave way to vegetables, additional salt became more and more necessary, as vegetable foods ranked far lower in salt content, the cereal rice lowest of all. Salt needs therefore increased with each move from the hill towards the plains. The growing use of salt was thus bound up with the shifts of people from montane region where they could live on meat without salt, through the arid region where the people would seem to have felt the

17 *Puranānūru*, 363 : 12.

need for salt[18] which was not available except in natural brines issuing from underground sources, and through the pastoral to agricultural and maritime civilization.

On account of these reasons, the two commodities, paddy and salt, assumed a great deal of importance in barter transactions, and gradually attained the importance as common measures of value. In view of this common recognition, it was customary in the settlements of ancient Tamil country for trader to announce openly that paddy was equivalent to salt in value.[19]

"கதழ்கோல் உமணர் காதல் மடமகள்
சில்கோல் எல்வளை தெளிர்ப்ப வீசி
நெல்லின் நேரே வெண்கல் உப்பெனச்
சேரி விலைமாறு கூறலின்"—அகம். 140 : 5-8.

Finally one might conclude this brief account of the origin and development of barter in the ancient Tamil country, by drawing attention to the fact that paddy and salt would also seem to have been given as wage for work done; thus the terms *kooly* (கூலி), and *sambalam* (சம்பளம்), meaning 'wage' or 'salary', are said to have been derived from *koolam* (கூலம், food-grains), and *sambu* (சம்பு), a high quality paddy, and *alam* (அளம் salt), respectively. The English word, 'salary', is also said to have been derived from the Latin root, '*Sal*' meaning 'salt'.

---

18 *Siruṛāṇāṛṛupadai*, 137. "குப்பை வெண்மை யுப்பின் வெந்தகை"
Perumpāṇāṛṛupadai, 97-8. "நெடுங்கிணற்று வல்லூற்று உவரி தோண்டி"

19 *Ahanānūru*, 140: 5-8; see also, *Ahanānūru*, 390: 8-9.

Patterns of Early Tamil Marriages

M. E. MANICKAVASAGOM

0.0. The purpose of this paper is two-fold: to demonstrate the possibility of formulating a workable method, that can be operated in cultural investigations based on literary materials, and to attempt a classification of the systems of marriages which prevailed among the ancient Tamils.

0.1. The pre-historic period in the history and culture of a society is reconstructed from various sources: viz. archaeology, epigraphy, numismatics and literature.[1] Literature, as such cannot be fully relied upon, though in the absence of other sources of information, the importance of literature looms large. Literature is the outcome of the happy blending of so many factors, of which sociological information forms only a part and that too, a small part. Myth and legend, tradition and convention (indigenous as well as foreign), poetic liberty and imagination, idealism and hyperbolism and the like interact in the production of literary works. Moreover, the authors, who are creative artists, have no obligation to depict faithfully and comprehensively, whatever is happening around them. Though an author is a member of the society and is a product of his environment, he is above all a free thinker with prerogatives to dwell upon his imagination and idealism, as he is not producing a historical or sociological document.[2]

---

1 Warren and Wellock: THEORY OF LITERATURE (Reprinted 1961) London.

'Indeed this has been one of the earliest uses to which literature has been put by systematic students'.

2 Ibid. 'Literature is no substitute for sociology or Politics. It has its own justification and aim'.

0.2. Thus the problem of adding literature as an evidence for reconstruction is not new.[3] A few of the procedures so far adopted in reconstruction resemble the comparative method. Meyers,[4] for example, suggests a comparison of literature with blundered folk tale commentary, while Bruce Biggs has compared the various literary accounts, to find out the relative genuineness of the accounts.

It is quite possible to utilize literature for sociological inference, with caution. Any approach in this direction should satisfy at least two criteria : First of all the details of culture traits collected from the literary sources should be confirmed, and secondly the method should provide evidence for filling up the lacunae in the picture of the society and culture constructed from literature. The procedure of reconstruction adopted in linguistics and biology can suggest a way for the achievement of these ends. This procedure can be illustrated with an example : let four or five species have originated from a common genus, which is now extinct. What we know now is only the characteristics of the species. All the species have certain common characteristics, and these can be considered as the inherited qualities from the genus, while the peculiar qualities of each species are later individual accretions. Now we can reconstruct a hypothetical genus on the basis of the common characteristics of the species. In a good number of cases, it has been proved to be a near accurate one. An analogous procedure can be extended to culture studies.

0.3. The genus is purely reconstructed on the basis of the common qualities of the species, in the above cited illustration. But in the domain of culture studies based on

---

3 Bruce Biggs: MAORI MARRIAGE (1960) Wellington, Newzeland. The method of Biggs is akin to that of Textual Criticism.

4 A. C. Meyers & others: ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE CLASSICS (1927) London.

"For Herodotus, too, the first duty of anthropology is to interpret his picture of mankind, to illustrate by parallel cases; to extract by comparison the genuine observation from the blundered folk-tale commentary to fill the blanks in the picture itself with such fragments of fifth century knowledge as have been preserved in other hands in this".

literary documents, we have an added advantage. The ancient phase of the culture to be reconstructed (analogous to the genus) is having at least an incomplete shape, which will be constructed from the literary documents. The modern phase of the culture (analogous to the species) is used only to confirm the literary evidences and to fill up the lacunae and to reduce poetic idealism and hyperbolism to the minimum. In other words, parallel culture traits of the two phases—the ancient one collected from literature and the modern one as seen and observed in the contemporary society—are compared and synchronized. Others also have accepted the validity of this method.[5]

0.4. There are a few attempts on the institution of marriage as it existed in ancient Tamilakam. While Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai [6] deals with ceremonial aspects of the institution, Dr. Subramoniam [7] classifies it. This study is an extension of the latter's treatment, and attempts at the reconstruction of the ancient patterns of marriage. The *Eṭṭuttokai* and the *Pattuppaaṭṭu,* the earliest extant literary works in Tamil have several references to this subject matter and the corpus for this analysis, is mainly based on them. We can observe five forms of marriages among the ancient Tamils: the romantic pattern, the bride-price pattern, the pattern of securing a bride by attaining success in a fight, the pattern of selecting the groom by conducting a bull fight competition, and the pattern of second marriage by paying bride price during the life time of the first wife, but having no issue. The question confronting us, is whether these patterns as gleaned from literature did exist really in the ancient phase of the culture of the Tamils?

---

5 See Bruce Biggs (1961).

'The persistence of indigenous cultural features in contemporary (Maori) society will be a source likely to confirm or refute evidence from the past. If, for instance, documentary materials suggests that the quarelling between the families was part of the pattern of weddings, and if it is found that this is also typical of contemporary weddings, this fact will confirm the documentary evidence'.

6 S. Vaiyapuri Pillai: KAAVIYA KAALAM (1957).

7 V. I. Subramoniam: PANTAI TAMILAR MANAI VALKAI in Kurunci pongal issue: (1963).

0.5. Let us examine these patterns in some detail, prior to arriving at any decision regarding the veracity of the account. The romantic courtship culminating in the consecration of the marriage either with or without elopement, is by far the mostly referred to pattern in the different literary works. In this pattern, elopement takes place only when the consent of the parents happens to be difficult to secure.

In spite of the precautionary steps taken by the mothers, who used to guard their girls from going out (*Aham*: 90, 150, 252, 255 etc.), there were ample opportunities for the intermingling of the younger generations of the two sexes. Either in the river where they enjoyed themselves in swimming and such other sports (*Aink* : 69, 72, 77, *Pur* : 63, *Narr* : 9 etc.) or in the orchards and sand-mounts, where the young ladies used to play in the company of their equals (*Aham* : 135, 153) they (the lovers) had the opportunity to meet and develop their affectionate ties. The millet fields also served as suitable places for such meetings of lovers. Among the people, there existed the custom of sending girls to look after the millet fields, (*Kurinji Paattu : Patirr* : 78).

The romantic pairs never liked to expose themselves to gossip, and therefore met always in orchards and out of the way places (*Aham* : 400). The lover used to bestow presentations to his lady-love, gifts like leafy garment, and garlands, bracelets and other costly gifts (*Kur* : 214, *Narr* : 80 and 300 respectively). The girls kept those of gifts in secret possession, for they had the fear of their clandestine love being revealed because of those articles (*Narr* : 359). The custom of making vows to their sweet-hearts and sending messengers to their lady-loves were in vogue with the lovers (*Kur* :238 and *Kali* : 28, 32, 36). When the romantic relationship between the lovers was sealed with the consent of the parents, marriage would take place in the bride's house (*Kali* : 41), the auspicious day for the wedding being the day on which the moon and the asterism Rohini conjoins (*Aham* : 86 and 136) with the usual ceremonial rituals

connected with the function.[8] Sometimes the lovers alone took part in their wedding ceremony done on the river side (*Kur*: 25). The lover had to pay a bride price under certain conditions to get the hand of his lady-love in wedlock. The lovers would elope to get themselves married, when they were sure, that they could not get the consent and approval of their parents (*Ahum*: 145, 195, *Kur*: 7, *Narr*: 66, *Kali*: 9, *Patirr*: 30 etc.). The lovers used to go in chariots, *if they eloped during the night*, (*Narr*: *149*) *and they were* to be ready to move through the arid tracts (*Narr*: 66). The girl who eloped with her lover left her articles like anklets and balls to fall within the scope of her mother's sight, on seeing which she would weep, (*Narr*: 12), while her brothers got angry and took to arms (*Aham*: 259). During the course of their elopement, the girl would have removed her anklets, so that the bypassers who might come across them should not suspect them (*Aham*: 32) and (it seems that removal of the anklet is the sign of being married). It appears that elopement was not considered as a serious offence. But it might have been liked or disliked by the people. As the couple who had eloped and subsequently married was accorded a cordial reception in the bride's residence, this would indicate the tolerant outlook of the people towards elopement. The walls of the house were painted with red earth, the front yard was decorated with garlands, and sand was spread, for the reception to be held in honour of the newly-weds, though they did it subsequent to their elopement and everything was done with happiness and joy (*Aham*: 195). This account well indicates the wide prevalance of the pattern in ancient Tamiḷakam. It has the maximum frequency of occurrence in the literary works.

0.6. A second pattern of obtaining a bride was wife purchase. Probably in recognition of the economic aspect of marriage, the bridegroom had to pay a price for the bride, to her parents. Either in the form of ornaments, wealth or hamlets, he had to pay to secure the hand of a

---

8 S. Vaiyapuri Pillai: KAAVIYA KAALAM.

girl (*Aham* : 90). At times, parents rejected the bride-price because of their unwillingness to give their daughter in marriage to that particular man (*Pur* : 343). The bride-price need not always be in the form of articles. It could also be in the nature of doing certain service to the future father-in-law. He did all kinds of work, even if they happened to be hard and difficult. The young man went on floats into the sea to transport salt bags of his future father-in-law. The pattern of bride-purchase reviewed above stresses the importance of the part played by women in the economic endeavours in the society, (*Aham* : 280). This also provides scope for the bride's father to know the groom intimately.

The marital connections between members of the royal houses and the commoners find expression in the literary works. A ruler desirous of marrying a girl of common origin, would demand the parents of the girl and if the latter conceded, marriage would take place (*Pur* : 340). Some parents rejected such imperious demands and would consent only if begged for. This might have led to rivalries between the rulers and commoners culminating in an open fight, the success of which decided the matter (*Pur* : 336, 337, 341, 342 etc.). The antipathy on the part of the commoners to such unions also might have led to such fights. In order to secure the hand of a particular girl, kings fought a pitched battle (*Pur* : 339). A duel between wrestlers as a type of *tuṇaṅ-kai* dance occurred in order to attain the hand of a girl in marriage can be inferred from *Kur* : 364. There are altogether 18 instances in *Puranaanuuru*, and *Tol. Puraṭ-tiṇaiiyal* typologises this pattern as *Makaṭpaar Kaanci* (Sutra : 77).

0.7. Among the shepherds (*aayar* and *potuvar*) of the *mullai* tract, neither of the above mentioned patterns have any significance at all. They had their own particular pattern. The typical pattern of marriage practised by them was to select the heroic and able bridegroom, on the basis of his success in a competition. Ferocious bulls would be

brought in an arena, where the young men of the community tested their fortunes by subduing the ferocious bulls. The successful catcher of the ferocious bull would marry the girl who owned the particular bull. The striking feature of this pattern is that love and romance play a part only after marriage and are not at all the cause of wedlock. The abilities and the courage of the groom are given more prominence than any other factors in deciding the groom for a girl. Except the *mullai* tract songs (*Kali* : 101, 102, 103, 104 etc.) in *Kalittokai*, in no other place in the entire Sangam classics, can one get even a clue to this pattern.

0.8. In the Sangam works, there is an isolated reference about a type of marriage in which the hero had married a second time for the sake of an issue, while the first wife was alive. This one is a legally consecrated second marriage, unlike the large number of instances ascribed to the licentious life led by men in the company of courtesans. Here the first wife herself received the newly weds, as they entered the house. To this end an inference is possible from *Aink* : 292 combined with Naccinaarkkiniyar's commentary to sutra : 172 of *Tol. Karpiyal.* The sutra : 174, *Tol. Karpiyal* also approves of this practice. Here, the hero had to pay bride-price for securing the hand of the girl in marriage, but this cannot be brought within the pattern of bride-price, as it could happen only under the special circumstance of the first wife having no issue.

0.9. The five patterns discussed above can be arranged in a time scale, on the basis of the 'age—area hypothesis' as follows : except the catching-of-the-bull pattern, rest of the five patterns can be considered as belonging to the same strata. As there are instances of paying bride-price even in the romantic pattern, the two patterns—romantic and the bride-price patterns overlap. Similarly the patterns of bride-price and second marriage overlap, for bride-price is paid to the bride's parents in the two cases. Thus a chain of interrelation can be maintained among the romantic, bride-price and second marriage patterns of marriage and hence their membership in the same strata. The fight as a criterian in

deciding the marriage partners belongs to a special social strata, as this pattern comes into the picture only when the bridge-groom happens to be a member of a royal family. So in the time scale this pattern cannot be pushed forward or backward. Inference to the system of bride-price is possible in this pattern also. But one cannot group the bull conquest pattern with the rest. This is due to the fact that this pattern prevailed in a particular class of the community and that too in a single text : *Kalittokai.*

We get a rounded picture of the institution of marriage in the foregoing paragraphs. The institution of marriage is divided into five patterns and now the question confronting us is 'whether the above account be conceived as complete and faithful'. The question can be answered only after synchronizing these patterns gleaned from literature with that prevailing in the modern phase of the culture to establish the validity of the classical patterns of weddings.

1.0.0. The marriage patterns in the modern society differ from community to community and from place to place. The romantic pattern is no longer a social dogma. In the modern society, the judgments of the people are full of aversion to the romantic pattern, though it exists at least rarely in almost all the communities. But the conditions are different among the hill tribes. The romantic pattern is in vogue among the Mutuvans and Kana Pulayans of Kerala.[9] Among the Mutuvans, 'after the marriage is settled, the bridegroom takes away the maiden when she goes out for water or firewood, and lives with her separately for a few days in some secluded part of the forest. Either they themselves return home or are searched out to bring them home to solemnize the marriage'. Sometimes this habit of bride capture ends in open rivalries and clash between the parties concerned. Among the Kana Pulayans love and romance tend to effect marriage, with or without elopement. In the marriage rituals, a mock fight on the previous day of

9 L. A Krishna Iyer: TRAVANCORE CASTES AND TRIBES in 3 Vols

the wedding is a custom among the Southern Pulayas. The groom and his party arrives in the bride's house, a day earlier and on that day a mock fight will be waged, the quorum for the fight being fixed as eight.

1.0.1. Today instead of bride-price, in most cases the reverse is the practice : the groom demands huge sums of money and wealth from the bride's father. He too willingly gives them so as to get better husbands for the girls. But this has nothing to be compared with the ancient bride-price. They are poles apart. At least as a relic of the past, the custom survives in a few communities and hill tribes. In several communities[10] there is what is called a betrothal ceremony, when the groom has to give a costly ornament and clothes to the bride. Among the *cemkumtavar* and *paṭayaacci* castes of the Tanjore and the Arcot districts,[11] on the day of marriage settlement, the groom has to give a stipulated sum of money wrapped in a silk ; failure to pay the amount will mean that the settlement will be invalid. Such a system called '*moippaṇam koṭuttal*' is in vogue among these communities. In Kerala, the payment of bride-price is found among the *Malaveṭans*, the *Malamkuravans*, the *Taṇṭappulayas* and the *Malapulayas*.[12] The practice of serving the future father-in-law, as a means to secure a bride, is widely prevailing among the *Paḷiyans* and *Vaḷḷuvappulayas*. When the purchaser is too poor to pay the bride-price, he enters the father-in-law's house as a suitor-servant and after earning a good name by his service to the old man, marriage will take place.

1.0.2. Second marriages are now rare, even if the first wife has no issue, as it has been prohibited by punishment

10 This practice exists among the members of the *Vellalar*, *Vanikar*, *Veelaar* (potter) and a *few* other castes in the Kanyakumari and the neighbouring Tirunelveli *Districts*. *Even among* the Christians of the locality, the custom of presenting a ring on this occasion is in vogue.

11 Information from a student friend belonging to the area and one of the communities : N. Ramalingom.

12 L. A. Krishna Iyer and L. K. Bala Ratnam : ANTHROPOLOGY IN INDIA—(1961) Bombay.

under law. Despite these restrictions, the practice is seen in modern society. But prior to the prohibition by law, men used to marry a second time when their first wives had no issues.

1.0.3. Thus we can see marriage systems in contemporary society retaining the core of ancient patterns. The four patterns—romantic type, the bride-price type, the type where the groom is decided as a result of a fight, and the second marriage while the first wife is alive—as gleaned from literature have synchronic parallel traits in the modern phase of the culture. The latter confirm the literary sources as valid. The pattern of catching the bull needs confirmation. In no community at the present day, this pattern is in actual existence, but later literary sources, folk songs and traditions preserved in novels maintain the pattern as a meaningful system. Though not as a sport for bridegroom selection, the system of subduing the bull is retained as a pastime in some parts of Madurai and Ramnad districts. A guess that this pattern of marriage by bull fight competition was not a literary convention but an actual fact, will not be off the mark.

1.0.4. Thus this method provides a corrective and confirmative picture of the ancient phase of the culture, the evidences for which have been collected from literature.

Tamil in Synchrony and Diachrony

KAMIL ZVELEBIL

0.1. The real state of affairs in any language community is always much more *complicated* than any description may reflect. Any contemporary major language is a phenomenon of immense complexity, at once homogenous and heterogenous, a complex macrosystem including systems of smaller volume, and the problems, concerning the structure of a major language as a whole, as an immensely complex supermacrosystem, belong to the most fascinating, most important and most neglected fields of contemporary linguistics.

0.2. We would naturally like to deal with this complex macrosystem as adequately as possible. Whereas the techniques of analysis may be improved greatly by the mechanization of research procedures and by automatic linguistic analysis, we need a theoretical and methodical approach to the complex macrosystem of systems—if only for the task of providing a corresponding algorithm for an automatic analysis.

Since language is a *complex* phonemonenon, complex primarily in *space* as well as in *time* (though there are yet other important coordinates than the space-time coordinates pertaining to language), what we need is a system of *complex* investigation, a complex approach. Now this notion of language as being complex in space and time and as being primarily a vehicle of communication should, I suppose, underlie all our attempts at solving the intricate problems of Tamil linguistics of today, just as it underlies the very title of this paper—Tamil in Synchrony and Diachrony. When I say "Tamil today" I have in mind not only the literary language, nor the substandard dialectal language

alone, nor the common spoken Gemeinsprache—but the most *inclusive* and *complex hypermacrosystem* which may be viewed projected in *space* and *time*.

The conceptual framework of this approach toward Tamil may be found, on the one hand, in the teaching of the American linguist Prof. Kenneth L. Pike in his view of language as particle, wave and field, and, on the other hand, in the ideas held by Prof. Avanesov, a most prominent Soviet dialectologist.

0.3. According to Pike, language may be viewed profitably from three standpoints : one views language as made up of *particles* in hierarchy ; the second, as made up of *waves of events* ; a third consists in viewing structure as a *total field*. For our approach to Tamil in its synchronic and diachronic complexity, all three views are needed, one supplementing the other. On a purely descriptive level when dealing with a mere synchronic description of a particular microsystem with *space and time excluded* (say with the idiolect of one informant, or with the language of one particular text) we may well use the *static*, purely *structural* view of language as made up of *particles*—phonemes and allophones, morphemes and allomorphs, tagmemes and allotagmas etc.

As soon as we include, however, *space OR time* into the picture, studying horizontal or vertical *topoisoglosses* and *topoheteroglosses* (space included) or chronoisoglosses (chronoheteroglosses, time included), the particle view of language is insufficient and unsatisfactory. *Change* over a period of time or over a geographical area can be rather described through fusion stages taking part between systems in time and space which act in some sense as waves with identifiable components. Thus the dynamics of change in time OR space is the dynamics of waves of movement of one system to another system, the language is viewed as made up of waves of movement merging one into another with intermediate indeterminate areas between. In other words,

linguistic geography (with time excluded and space included) and *linguistic chronography* (with space excluded and time included) need the view of language as made up of *waves.*

Finally, as soon as I include BOTH *space* AND *time* into the study of a total linguistic hypermacrosystem, even the wave view of language is insufficient. The whole dynamic potential or structure of the system should be viewed as a *field.* In that discipline of linguistics which deals with the *chronotopoisoglosses* of language as the means of communication changing in time AND space—in *linguistic chronogeography*—it is necessary to view language as *functional,* as a system with parts and classes of parts so interrelated that no parts occur apart from their function in the total whole, in the field—which in turn occurs only as the product of these parts in functional relation to a *social* and *cultural environment.*

0.4. Thus the most inclusive and most adequate investigation of the most inclusive macrosystem should be the study of the *polychronous* and *polytopic* supermacrosystem with *time* and *space, style* and *situation* and *social position included.* This supermacrosystem should be described in terms of horizontal and vertical, stylistically relevant *chronotopoisoglosses.*

Tamil is a language which typically *needs* this kind of complex approach. It still has a number of local, territorial dialects, it still has diversities correlating with distinctions of social position and community-hierarchy, it has got important style distinctions, it has role and situation distinctions, it is a "unity in diversity" split horizontally and vertically. Just listen to this: *oruvar piranta tālūkā, jillā, avaratu kulam, kōttiram,* ***tolil,*** *poruṇilai eṉṉum ivaṟṟai avaratu moḻiyiṉiṉṟu aṟintukoḷḷukiṟōm.* This is what Swami Vipulananda wrote about 3 decades ago. He was quite right. The object of our study of Tamil in synchrony and diachrony should thus be the most inclusive supermacrosystem in its *time* and *space* projections, Tamil viewed as

variable in time, space, social and community hierarchy, situation and style.

1.1 The first task of Tamil linguistics in near future should be this : *excluding time* and *including space* to establish *topoisoglosses* manifesting different single linguistic features, to model microsystems pertaining to different *spots* in *space*, to model *horizontal territorial macrosystems* as well as *vertical, social, role and style macrosystems,* and finally the structure of dialectal language as a whole : once more I repeat—*time* is *excluded, space included.*

1.2. The establishment of *horizontal topoisoglosses* of various isolated linguistic features in Tamil is just beginning to take shape. The first objective in this direction should be, I suppose, a tentative establishment of diagnostic horizontal topoisoglosses, and I admit that I myself have tried to set up twenty basic features of Tamil vocalism and consonantism which may be used as points of departure in the search for *diagnostic phonoisoglosses.* The items containing these features should be used, on the one hand, in test-sentences and, on the other hand, they should be searched for in primary data. I do not pretend that by setting up these twenty phonetic features I am able to point out all relevant foundations for horizontal phonoisoglosses. But I repeat that each one of those features (a detailed discussion within the limits of this paper is ruled out but I am always prepared for it whenever it will be convenient) is diagnostic, and they may be used as convenient points of departure for the preparation of the first net of phonoisoglosses in Tamil.

1.3. A similar procedure may be worked out for *morphoisoglosses* and so on. Just for the sake of illustration let me quote one example : the 3. p. pl. uyartinai pronoun " they ", LT *avarkaḷ* is realized very differently, in many systemically conditioned variants : its phonetic and phonemic shape is certainly to be taken as an important *horizontal* and *vertical* isogloss : Cf. on the horizontal level of local dialects : North, East and partly South Tamil

avanka; West Tamil *aviya*; South East *avuha* or *avarhoḷ*, Ceylon *avankaḷ*. Vertically, characteristic for social and caste dialects are especially the forms Br. Tam. *ava* : vs. all Non-Brahmin forms; *further*, *koccai avunka*, versus non-koccai *avanka* (common colloquial); for role and style difference cf. LT *avarkaḷ* versus CT *avanka*.

1.4. As may be seen even from this single example, instead of including *space* into our considerations of single linguistic features, we may include differences correlating with distinctions in *social* position and *caste*-hierarchy, and or distinctions in *situation* and *style*.

Considering these distinctions, we should establish *vertical topoisoglosses* in Tamil—that is features diagnostic for the position (therefore *topoisoglosses*) of a speaker within the *social hierarchy* (up and down-vertically). I would advocate here to make a distinction between *social* hierarchy proper, and *caste-hierarchy*. It seems that there are some linguistic features in Tamil which are in correlation with the speaker's social position, education, profession etc. irrespective of his position in the caste-system. I think we should stress the fact that the so called "low class" or "vulgar" Tamil is not a caste dialect, not a *community* dialect.

1.5. It seems that one of the most important and most interesting tasks of synchronic dialectology is to set up all diagnostic vertical isoglosses which are characteristic for the *main community dichotomy* in Tamil-*Brahmin* versus *non-Brahmin*. The actual situation is indeed very complicated since Brahmin Tamil forms a vertically delimited macrosystem fairly homogenous when compared with non-Brahmin Tamil, but only relatively so : it is itself a hyper-system of at least two microsystems—Vaishnava Brahmin Tamil and Shaiva Brahmin Tamil. I doubt whether a Shaiva Brahmin would say in a natural conversation e.g. ṭi:rṭon paṇṇi ṭirumaṇṇe eṭuṭṭiṇṭu va:ŋko:, having taken bath bring thiruman. This is typically Vaishnava ; a Shaiva Brahmin would rather say sna:nam paṇṇi vipu:ṭi eṭuṭṭiṇṭu

va:nko : And a non-Brahmin of course kuḷiccittu tiruni:ru etuttukkittu va:nka.

From this single example it is obvious (without commentary) how important it is to study carefully every single feature which may mark a vertical isogloss. It is, in fact, one of the main tasks ahead of synchronic dialectology in Tamil to set up—apart from *horizontal topoisoglosses covering the entire Tamil territory, vertical topoisoglosses* covering the *entire Tamil speech community,* the entire Tamil *society*. Let me quote one more illustration of a *lexical topoisogloss* : the items for the simple concept of " son " (*filius*).

My own material shows 17 alloforms of this conceptual item, some of them different phonemic or phonetic shapes of the same etymon, some entirely different words—all of them what Pike calls *SYSTEMICALLY conditioned variants :* Cf. one set of differences marking distinctions in role and situation : SLT *makan*—CCT *maken ;* another set—caste-*hierarchy* Brahmin *puḷḷe* vs. non-Brahmin *maken* or *maven.* Social style differences : CCT *maken* versus koccai *maven ;* another chart would provide for horizontal isoglosses : all continental dialects on the one hand show closely related forms like *makken, maven, mayen* (in Pallar Tam.) vs. Ceylon *mo:n.*

1.6. Now most of that which has been just said concerned the topoisoglosses (horizontal as well as vertical) of *single features.* The next step is to *model microsystems* of *different local patois* and horizontal as well as vertical macrosystems of different *territorial* and *regional dialects.* Whereas, when working on isolated isoglosses of isolated features we may be satisfied with the particle view of language, here now, when dealing with *bundles* of isoglosses, with the models of the structure of single dialects and especially with their nuclear versus transitional, critical zones (or bridges), it is convenient to view language as *waves* of movement following one another and merging one into another in a complex macrosystem.

Thus, to sum up, the task of *Tamil language* topography, horizontal and vertical, is to establish local *patois*, subdialects, dialects and dialect regions—horizontal and vertical macrosystems—after having set up carefully selected diagnostic topoisoglosses.

2.0. So far it is possible to divide the entire Tamil language area of continental Tamil and Ceylon (leaving apart Tamil as spoken in Malaysia etc.) very tentatively into *five dialect regions* : North, East, West, South and Ceylon. Each of these big dialect regions is characterised by a fairly thick *bundle* of important *horizontal topoisoglosses*, thus forming a macrosystem of its own. It would be possible to point out some typical features diagnostic for each of these regional macrosystems. Such impressionistic characterization may actually be found in some papers which have dealt with Tamil territorial dialects including such works as Andronov's brochure on spoken Tamil or my own paper *Spoken Language of Tamilnad* which has just appeared in *Archiv Orientalni*. However, I feel, that this stage of impressionistic and superficial descriptions which were perhaps inevitable and even useful a while ago, should now give way to adequate, full and precise descriptions of each one of those local and regional macrosystems; in other words, we need Tamil language topography—or dialect geography—to become a full-fledged, government-sponsored scientific discipline.

2.1. Here I cannot do more than repeat only one or two general conclusions Tamil dialectology has been so far able to arrive at—First : the *thickest bundle* of *heteroglosses divides* continental Tamil from Ceylon Tamil. Another fairly thick bundle separates Western Dialect Region from the rest. A thinner but important bundle of isoglosses encircles the Southern Dialect Region. The North and the East are separated from one another only by a few diagnostic heteroglosses. This purely structural and synchronic conclusion is fully supported and to a great extent explained by extra linguistic factors and by historical considerations. Second : An opinion has been expressed several times that

"local dialects are only weakly marked in Tamil". I cannot quite agree with such a statement. Whereas it is true that—when compared e.g. with the differences between Plattdeutsch and Schwyzer Deutsch—the *dialect flexion* in Tamil is much less marked, it is equally true that the main types of regional dialects—West, South, North plus East, and Ceylon—differ considerably and entitle us to speak about clean-cut dialect regions in Tamilnad. Let me quote a single example chosen at random from my material: a non-Brahmin speaker from Madras has said : (mekka: na:ṭṭu, noreya so:ru kaṭṭikinu ka·ṭṭukka po:na:nka), next day they went to the wood, having tied a bundle full of boiled rice; the same utterance in a South Eastern local dialect of Tamil is transformed into the following systemically conditioned variant: (maruna·ḷe, naraiya co:ru kaṭṭikiṭṭu ka·ṭṭukku po:na:hae).

Most pairs of dialects of Tamil are certainly mutually intelligible, and the index of dialect flexion in the whole set would be probably rather low (like in English or French, and unlike in Chinese e.g.), but, on the other hand, some pairs (e.g. North Arcot and Jaffna) would, I fear, belong rather to an L—complex than to a single L—simplex.

2.2. As far as the *vertical* macrosystems are concerned, we may distinguish among three types of such macrosystems, each delimited by a fairly thick bundle of vertical isoglosses :

1. macrosystems based on *social* and *caste*-hierarchy ;
2. macrosystems based on *style* distinctions ;
3. macrosystems based on *role* and *situation* distinctions.

2.21. I have already touched upon the problem of speech diversity correlating with social and caste-distinctions. What has just been written about the impressionistic treatment of territorial dialects is equally true of the *social* and *community* dialects of Tamil. A full and adequate description is

a *desideratum*, and, again, this task should be performed by the Tamils themselves, as soon as possible. The diagnostic features of language use are immensely important for the study of the changing pattern of "Hindu society at cross-roads". Apart from an individual's name, his customs and manners, type of dress, ornaments etc., the most characteristic feature of a person's place in the community hierarchy in South India is his *speech*. Whereas, however, the dress and the other external symptoms including that part of the name which is typical for a community can be and *is* nowadays usually changed or disposed of (Mr. Subrahmanya Ayyar is just plainly Mr. Subrahmanyam nowadays, and Mr. Sundaram Pillai is just Mr. Sundaram), the speech habits of a person are too intimately tied up with his personality, so intimately and inherently a part of a man's being, that they remain long one's main and perhaps the only diagnostic feature of one's place in the pattern of the communities.

2.22. Contrary to territorial and social dialects, there are distinctions which *coexist* in the speech-habits of a single speaker. Geographical and social dialects tend to be mutually exclusive; the use of those variations which regularly coexist in the speech of single individuals reflect some kind of *situational* or *role* differences. In Tamil these differences are so deep that the two styles have each its own phonemic, morphophonemic and morphemic systems. In short, Tamil has a clear-cut *dichotomy* between the formal versus the *informal* variety of speech; the formal variety may be spoken—as in most platform-speeches, in the news-reel of the AIR, in schools and colleges by teachers and professors, on the stage, etc., or written (most literature has been composed in this formal variety); this is the *ilakkiyat-tamiḻ* or *ilakkiyavalakku*, based on *centamiḻ*; it is called *mēṭaippēccu* when spoken; or *ceppamāna moḻ* which stresses the fact that it is a polished, grammatical standard; *eḻuttuttamiḻ* when written; Swami Vipulananda has called it *puttakattamiḻ*, bookish T. But it is not used by any sector of the Tamil community for ordinary daily conversation.

The informal variety likewise may be spoken and is actually spoken as the common, day-to-day, colloquial, ordinary speech of educated Tamilians, it may also be heard in some plays and films, occasionally in various programmes of the AIR, and by some speakers also in platform speech making (Prof. T. P. M. on Sept. 9, 1962). It may likewise be written—but is usually not. This is the *pēccuttamil* or *pēccuvalakku*, based on a mixture of substandard non-Brahmin dialects of the Central and Northern regions of Tamilnad. I would myself prefer the term *potuppēccuttamil* or simply *potuttamil*—common Tamil. Swami Vipulananda calls this variety *uyirttamil* living Tamil.

What is very important is the fact that this Common Colloquial Tamil cannot be identified entirely with any local (or social, or caste) dialect of Tamil; in other words, CCT is something different from any other speech-type in Tamil. CCT *has its own, specific,* fairly though not quite homogenous, *macrosystem.*

There is no doubt that sooner or later spoken Tamil will, in a modified form, enter the field of creative and later technical writing; for a period of time, there may be two standards: one, a representative of the traditional culture based on the *centamil* and today's standard written language, the other representing more progressive strata, modern-minded intelligentsia, the middle-classes in towns etc., based on a modified form of today's *potuppēccuvalakku.* First, the gap between the two may be quite wide, gradually, however, the extremes will be moving closer towards the centre which lies in the future, not very distant but not very near either, and the process and growth of colloquial standard will be finished as a conscious process in forming a full-fledged over-all national language of Tamilnad. The process—which is so far spontaneous though moving along objective lines—should be *made* conscious for reasons linguistic as well as cultural, social as well as political; in other words, it should be the concern of every educated Tamilian *to strive* after cultivating—apart from cultivating the *literary* language—this *common colloquial* as an equal partner of the

written norm. This leaves us, the Tamilologists, with enormous work ahead: to prepare descriptive and normative grammars, students' grammars, textbooks and dictionaries of the common spoken language.

It cannot be overemphasized that this common spoken standard is *not* the so called vulgar speech, the *koccai* of the uneducated. On the contrary, the common spoken language is used by the educated middle-classes of non-Brahmin descent in big Tamil cities—by those who form nowadays, socially, economically and culturally the most influential strata of Tamil population. I should also like to be well understood on this issue: *I do not advocate* "the hybrid, anglicized, sanskritized, *manipravala* jargon affected by sections and classes of Madras with their intromission of English phrases and whole sentences ridiculously sandwhiched in Tamil and more ridiculously pronounced" (I quote from Dr. X. S. Thani Nayagam). But I am convinced that the common spoken language, strongly modified under the impact of the best contemporary literary style, will become the over-all national Tamil language of the future. What Dr. Mu. Varadarajan strives after in the written form, I would perhaps suggest as the *model* in the colloquial language in its spoken shape, that is including the necessary phonological and morphophonological changes proper to the spoken variety. And, finally, in the future, a closer *rapprochement* between today's written and today's spoken, on the basis of styles developed by V. Ramaswamy, Tiru Vi Ka and Mu Va.

3.1. So far I was dealing with *monochronous* structure of the dialectal language—practically with those systems—different in space, style or situation—which are *synchronous* with *us*.

The polychronous structure of the dialectal language, with *excluded space* and *included time*—is the object of the historical grammar proper of the language.

Most of you probably know that a historical grammar of the *literary* style of Tamil is now being prepared by myself and my Soviet colleagues and that this work should be ready for print by the end of 1967. Enormous work in this direction in the analysis of the past stages of development of *literary* Tamil is being done by the universities of Annamalai and Kerala, and I have also been (though superficially) informed about the indexes prepared in Pondichery. I should only like to make one suggestion : apart from a historical grammar of the literary style of Tamil we should elaborate a historical grammar of the *spoken* language as a macrosystem developing in time. Material and data for this there is real abundance especially in inscriptions, but also in literary texts, which shows that *diglossia* is a very ancient feature in Tamil, that, practically, the written language, as a system, differed from the spoken, as a system, during all periods of linguistic development.

3.2. Now, as the last step, we may include into our considerations of the supermacrosystem of the dialectal language as a whole *both time and space, simultaneously*. We may view the language in its space and time projections, in the dynamics of its territorial, spatial, and temporal, structural development, in change.

Coming back to Tamil, we may say that our aim should now be the treatment of Tamil in synchrony and diachrony, that is Tamil in terms of horizontal and vertical chronotopoisoglosses, that is, yet in other words, Tamil as a supermacrosystem in the diversity of *space, time, community, situation* and *style projections.*

This may seem just a " grau Theorie " but it is a practical necessity. Anyone who is well acquainted with inscriptional and literary Tamil may quote hundreds of instances showing that this diversity—that is the distinctions between a superposed literary form, a number of spoken local-cum-social dialects, and probably a more-or-less common Gemeinsprache—has been existing in Tamil for many past centuries. Practically in all periods of linguistic develop-

ment (I may quote abundantly from the writings of K. Kanapathi Pillai, Miss Jayakumari, or my own materials etc.) the written language has differed more or less from various forms of the spoken—except perhaps during the comparatively brief span of time when the literary form was arising from the vernacular, when it was just being modified. Because change lies in the nature of language, divergencies must have emerged soon; conservatism lies in the nature of writing and spelling. Thus we cannot but conclude that diglossia in Tamil had been a very ancient feature, and we should investigate this problem historically with utmost care.

3.3 Another very important question of Tamil chrono-geography is the problem *which* local or regional dialect had been the basis of the *literary standard.* In the Historical Tamil Grammar which we prepare in Prague and Moscow we shall try to answer this question. Of an equal importance is the answer to the question which local or regional dialect lies at the bottom and core of the *common colloquial.*

Tentatively I should like to say now this: the core of *Literary Tamil* is the Southern regional dialect of *centamiḻ-nilam* with Madurai as its centre of prestige. Standardized for the first time in the 4th—3rd Cent. B.C., it received its final important norm in the Nannul, and since that it practically ceased to develop in its orthographic and orthoepic norm and grammatical system as such.

The core of the *common colloquial* Tamil, which as a sort of *system* developed much later but which was so to say *in potentia* and *in nuce* existing practically *always,* is the regional dialect of the Eastern-cum-Northern areas in the speech of non-Brahmin middle class literate speakers in the towns and cities of this area.

4. Most of the things which have been said in this paper are a matter of grave practical consequences: upon the solution of problems pertaining to Tamil linguistics in the broadest sense—structural linguistics as well as socio-linguistics, synchronic and diachronic—depend such enormously important matters as e.g. the prognosis and direction

of the future development of Tamil diglossia; the question of the future over-all national written and spoken language of Tamilnad, etc. The enormous richness of Tamil vocabulary, the absence of one single norm—either literary or spoken—for all speakers of Tamil—these are the sources of great difficulties for foreign learners of Tamil. One of the main difficulties in this respect is the intimate tie-up between style and situation in Tamil; another, the swiftly changing types of prestige in language use. *Which type* of the spoken, colloquial Tamil should be taught at our universities—which type of speech should be imitated as that which has greatest prestige and is indicative of future trends? What type, what *norm* of Tamil is a *foreigner* expected to speak? What kind of *literary style* should the student imitate when *writing* Tamil and when speaking formally—that used by Mu Va, or that used by some other speakers? Should he develop his style-habits in the direction indicated by V. Ramaswamy and T. Ke. Chidambaranatha Mudaliyar, or in that followed by Thiru Vi. Ka, or in the direction of *taṉittamil iyakkam* sponsored by such writers as Maraimalai Adigal? What will be the future over-all national language of Tamilnad? What about the orthographic and orthoepic norm of the future spoken-cum-written language?

All these are questions which we must try to answer by our work.

The Island Shrine of Sri Ranganātha

J. M. SOMASUNDARAM

The beautiful island of Srirangam is of universal interest. The shrine of Sri Ranganātha, the glory of Vaishnavism, nestles towards the north of the island, as its Śaivite counter-part, Jambukeśwaram, occupies another part towards its east. The two expansive branches of the Cauvery enclose the island, and they seem almost to garland the island and its two great temples in between. The gopuras rising amidst the rich green foliage and the silvery waters rushing on in the bright sunlight, or on moon-lit nights, are a memory never to be forgotten.

Srirangam island is about 19 miles in length, and in its widest part about 1½ miles broad, the soil being alluvial and very fertile. Srirangam town is situated in lat. 10° 52′ N and 78° 42′ E, and 2½ miles north of the historic city of Tiruchirappalli.

Srirangam is by far the largest of the South Indian temples. Its construction instead of consisting of mainly one effort, as in the case of the Nayak kings at Madurai, and in several of most of the southern temples, has extended over a long period of over eleven centuries. An unusual feature of the place is also that it is laid out from North to South instead of the almost invariable orientation from East to West.

Srirangam is a city within the temple. Srirangam has a population of 41,964 according to the census of 1961. Constituted a municipality in 1871, the town around the temple has grown gradually according to the ancient ideas of town-planning in the *Silpa Sāstras*. The *sanctum-sactorum* of Sri Ranganātha has been the nucleus around which the seven enclosures or *prākāras* and the buildings therein

rose as the town emerged and grew into importance by the occupation of first the temple servants, then the Brahmin devotees, then the craftsmen, then the tradesmen and the others who had to cater to the necessaries and luxuries of the inhabitants. The temple and the town are almost conterminous, the greater portion of the houses having been erected inside the walls of the former; and the temple within, the seven outer square *prākāras* or walled streets, several other streets and the greater portion of the dwelling houses.

St. Poikaiār—the earliest of the Ālvārs gives expression to the universal Hindu aspect of the divinities in his inimitable verse:

" பொன் திகழும் மேனிப் புரிசடையம் புண்ணியனும்
நின்றுலகம் தாய நெடுமாலும்—என்றும்
இரு அரங்கத்தால் திரிவ ரேலும் ஒருவன்
ஒருவன் அங்கத்து என்றும் உளன் ".

Of the three temples, sacred to Venkateśa at Tirupati, to Varadarāja at Kanchee, and Ranganātha, the Srirangam temple is considered the most sacred to the Vaishnavas; known to them by the distinguished name of the "Koyil" or "The Temple *par-excellence*", as Chidambaram is the one of utmost sanctity, "the koyil" for Saivites. Of the one hundred and eight Vaishnava holy centres (*Nūtreṭṭu Tiruppaṭigal*) in India, Srirangam is considered the foremost as being sung by all the twelve Vaishnava Ālvārs, of the South; and as the scene of the labours and the last resting place of Rāmānuja (1017 to 1137 A.D.); and by its association with all the later Sri Vaishnava ācaryās. The sanctity of the temple draws pilgrims from distant Nepal and Kashmir to Rameswaram and Dhanushkodi—the extreme southern-most point of the peninsula.

Sriranga Mahatmya, the Sthala Purāṇa, which finds mention both in *Garuḍa Purāṇa* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* asserts that those who visit Srirangam, those who bathe in the Cauvery, those who remain there even for a few seconds, and even those who only see it from afar will not only be

free from fear of *Naraka* the abode of Yama—but will be free from disease and agony at the time of death, and also from an untimely death.

Though held to be of remote antiquity, the real beginnings of this magnificent temple is shrouded in mystery. The earliest references to the temple are in the *Rāmāyana* by Valmiki.* The legend is that Sri Ranganātha was in worship of Brahma in Vaikunda, and was brought by King Ikshvāku to his capital at Ayodhyā, and he and his descendants for generations worshipped Him as their family deity, and in course of time, it came to Sri Rāma as a paternal inheritance. After Sri Rāma returned from Lankā and was crowned, Vibhīshaṇa who had followed Rāma to Ayodhyā wished to return to Lankā. During his coronation when Sri Rāma distributed large presents to his adherents, Rāvaṇa's brother Vibhīshaṇa preferred to have for his share Rāma's *Kuladanam*, the family deity which was in the worship of the Ikshvāku kings from time immemorial. The *Uttara-kāṇda* of the *Rāmāyana* refers to this. Rāma when handing over the ancestral deity advised Vibhīshaṇa to reign over his subjects with *Dharma* and to keep in daily worship the family deity presented to him. Vibhīshṇa agreed to obey this mandate and while on his way back to Lankā he halted for a bath at noon in the delightful place now known as Srirangam or Chandrapushkarani, depositing the image there. And when Vibhīshaṇa finishing his ablutions attempted to take up the image and resume his onward journey, the deity addressed his *Bhakta* to leave Him alone in that lovely spot and worship Him there only. The incident is perpetuated to this day in the Srirangam temple as Vibhīshaṇa is seen enshrined with *Senai Mudaliar* or Vishvaksena in the second *prākāra* of the temple; and Vibhīshaṇa inaugurates the *Āḍi* and *Panguni Brahmotsava*, participating in the *Ankurārpaṇa* rituals. The genesis of the temple as such is ascribed to Tretā Yuga of Rama's reign. Further

* Valmiki: Yuddha Kāṇda, 128 Sarga. Sloka 90. Uttara Kāṇda 39 Sarga Sloka 14; also Chap. 108, Slokas 27-30.

references as to the beginnings of the principal shrine are also in *Sriranga Mahatmya* in *Dasa Adhyayi* of *Brahmanda Purana* and in the *Sadta adhyayi* of *Garuda Purana* and in other mythological works. But, it should be said, that the inception of the holiest of holies of this sacred temple is ascribed to an age beyond our reach and knowledge.

We have picturesque details of the temple and its deity in the *Silappadikaram* :

" நீலமேகம் நெடும்பொன், குன்றத்துப்
பால்விரிந்து அகலாது படிந்தது போல
ஆயிரம் விரித்தெழு தலையுடை அருந்திறல்
பாயற்பள்ளிப் பலர்தொழுது ஏத்த
விரிதிரைக் காவிரி வியன் பெருந் துருத்தித்
திரு அமர் மார்பன் கிடந்த வண்ணமும் ". (சிலப்பதிகாரம்)

From the third century onwards, the temple is the centre of praise from the heart of the Vaishnavite saints known as *Alvars.* The acāryas commencing from Nathamunigal made Srirangam as their abode and a centre of their activities. The life work of St. Rāmanuja is well known, and the lives and the times of the Alvars and acāryas are well depicted in a religious history known as *Guruparapprabhavam* presented in two versions. And in the McKenize manuscripts, we have several references to the temple, and the *Koyil-olugu,* gives full details of the daily routine of the temple and of the endowments and improvements that have gone into the temple as it is now.

The historic perspective is presented by the Epigraphical department of the Archaeological Survey of India which has copied as many as 353 inscriptions found on its walls. Some of them are published in the *South Indian Inscriptions* Series. Thirteen copper plates have also been examined. They all contain evidence to say that the temple has received the royal benefactions of the Cholas, the Pandyas, the Hoysalas and the Vijayanagar Dynasties; also of princely devotees between the 9th and 16th centuries A.D. The earliest inscriptions go back to the reign of Madurai-konda-

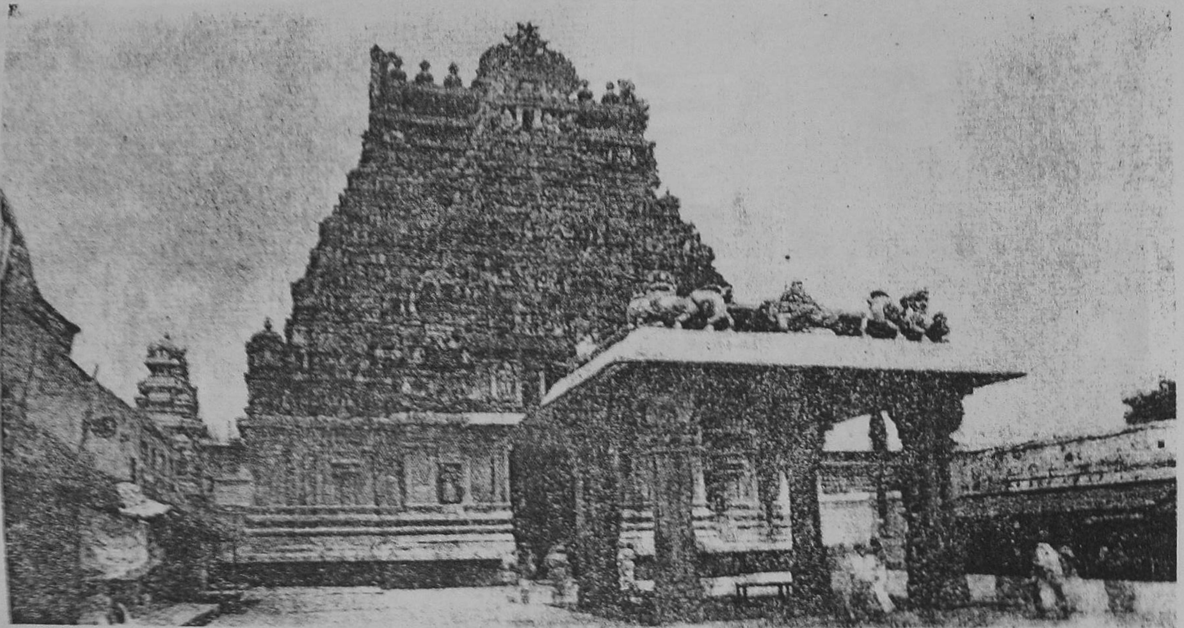
Parakesari-Varman who is Chola Parantaka I (906–46 A.D.). An inscription of Sundara Pandya relates that he took Srirangam from a King, probably Someswara in 1253, after laying waste and plundering the capital of the noted Chieftain Kopperunjinga; and, Sundara is identified as Jatavarman who ascended the throne in A.D. 1250–51. The largest of such contributions were from Jatavarman Sundara Pandya (1251–1271 A.D.), and many of the buildings date from the XVII Century due to the munificence of the later Nayak kings of Madurai who made their second capital at Tiruchirappalli. Jatavarman's two Srirangam inscriptions are published in the *Epigraphis Indica* Vol. III p. 7 ff. The benefactions of Sundara Pandya to the Srirangam temple have been extensive. The *Koyil-Olugu* narrates that the Pandya known as *Pon-Veynda-Perumal-Sundara-Pandya Deva* performed *Tulābhāra* weighing himself on a float, seated full-armed on his caparisoned royal elephant against gold, pearls and precious stones, and with these laid out the four Raja Mahendra streets around the Srirangam temple, built as many as twenty-four *tulapurusha mandapams*, an inner prākāra for the temple with adjoining corridors, Yagaśālā manṭapams, and installed a number of images of highest merit covering them with the nine gems.

He also gifted golden vessels of various descriptions for use to the deity; also endowments for feeding and for the annual car festival, all aggregating to the value of more than eighteen lakhs of gold piece; and another eighteen lakhs for covering the temple vimana and other portions with gold plates. His several acts of piety earned him the name of "*Hemācchādana Raja*" and *Koil-pon-veynda-Perumal*".

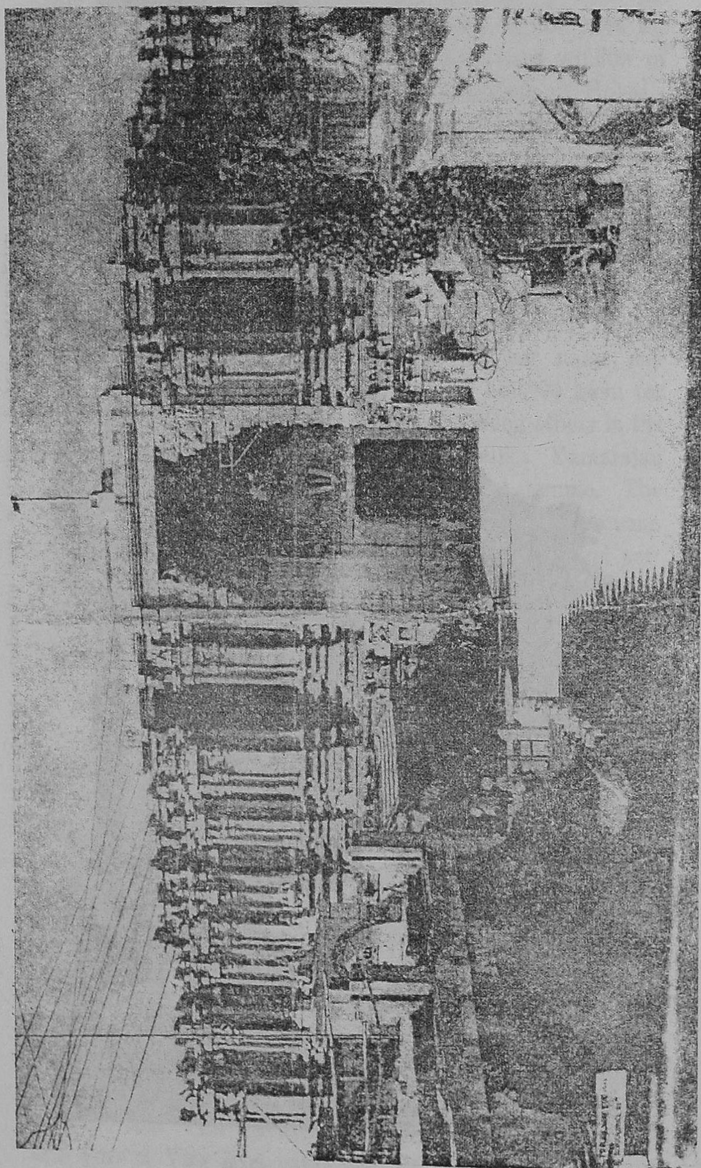
Besides, Hoysala endowments to the temple of Srirangam deserve notice. When Narasimha II camped near Srirangam, Sri Rama Bhatta, priest in charge of the Venugopala temple at Halebeid, visited Srirangam and endowed lands to the temple besides constructing the shrine of *Tiruk-kuzhal-Oothina Pillai* or Venugopala in the fifth prākāra of the temple with the surrounding sculptures and figurines

which are unmistakably a product of Hoysala Art. High up on the gopuram, in the middle of the East Chitrai Street, formerly called the *Kaliyugaraman Tiruveedi*, is engraved the *gandabherunda*, a Hoysala emblem. The latticed window of the gopuram and other features are also typical of Hoysala architecture. The gopuram was begun in the time of Narasimha and was completed by Jatavarman Vira Pandya during his occupation of Srirangam. Vira Pandya's surname *Kaliyugaraman* is also engraved on the gopuram (98 of 37, A.R.E. 1921-29). *Koyil-olugu* ascribes to Vira Narasimha the erection of the platform and mantapá in front of the shrine to Narasimha. During the reign of Someswara, his queen Devala Devi (54 of 92) made a gift for a *sandi* in her name, and his aunt Somela Devi (72 of 37) a gift of 1,00,000 kāśu for the maintenance of flower gardens. And among others in the next reign, Ramanatha's pradhānī, Mandalika Yamarajan Kampaya Dandanayaka, lavished gifts on the temple. The shrine to Paravasudeva in Ālinādan west-prākāra, Sudarsana and Lakshmi Narayana, a number of mantapams and porches are attributed to him. His name is inscribed on the pillars of the western porch of the thousand pillared mantapam.

An endowment (Inscription 80 of 1937) of much importance was the establishment of a hospital within the temple by Mahapradhani Singana Dandanayaka. The physician incharge was Garudavahana Pandita, the minister's private physician, and the village of Mummudicholamangalam near Lalgudi was granted for the maintenance of this charity. This *ārogyaśālā* was damaged during the Muslim raids; and, the grandson of Garudavahana Pandit repaired it in 1493 A.D. (Insc. 81 of 37), and installed an image of Danvantari which is in worship even to this day. Another interesting gift was by Sokka Villi Bhatta, who bore the proud title of *Sakala Vidya Chakravartti* and was the recipient of a headgear in-laid with rubies and a pair of chowries with golden handles from Vira Pandya who visited Srirangam in the 15th year of Vira Ramanatha and offered all these gifts at the feet of Sri Ranganatha. (Insc. 52 of 92).



The inner entrance Gopuram and a frontal porch—Srirangam.



The Graceful Temple of Sriranganathar:

The main entrance into Srirangam temple is through a magnificent but unfinished gateway on the South, into the all-encompassing *Adaiya-Valainthan Tiruveedhi*, which is also known as Rajaveedi. The Rayagopuram gateway was built by king Achyuta Raya (1530-1542 A.D.) of the Vijayanagar Empire during his six month's stay in Srirangam. It is a magnificent place of architecture 130 feet long and 100 feet broad; and the gateway is 28½ feet broad and 43 feet high. The four jambs or gate-posts are each of a single slab of granite, more than 40 feet in height, and the roofing slabs throughout measure from 23 feet to 24 feet. Had the ordinary brick gopuram of the usual proportion been added to this, the whole would have risen to a height of nearly 300 feet. Even as it is, it is one of the most imposing structures in South India. Its massive but graceful proportions combine the repose and dignity appropriate to the religious atmosphere attached to this holy spot. It is the farthest and seventh enclosure of the temple proper. The wall measures 3072 feet by 2521 feet, almost an area of over half a square mile, the largest that any temple in the South of India covers. The other three gopuram of this enclosure, are in the same style and were commenced on the same scale, but not being so far advanced when the work was stopped, their gate-posts project above their walls in a manner that gives them a very singular appearance, and has led to some strange theories as to their origin. Their date is probably the last years of the Vijayanagar period. The progress of their construction was possibly cut short by the great blow the empire experienced after the battle of Talikota in 1565 A.D. With the fall of the empire and its disruption into smaller and weaker States, with this and such constructions a magnificent style throughout the country (e.g. Madurai) came to a sudden end.

There are altogether within these seven prakaras twenty-one gopuras, large, small and unfinished, thirteen of which follow the axial line of the temple from one point of view.

The later towers have each a design of their own and differ from its neighbour in outline, detail and size. But the whole mass however is so harmoniously blended as to impress any visitor, with the sublimity of its design, and the mastery of its construction.

Recent research shows that the other two outer courts, inside the *Adaiya Valainthan* or the seventh, the *Chitrai* the sixth, and the *Tiruvikraman Tiruveedi*, the fifth were the latest to be formed. These two are not of any special architectural significance, as they extend through and into the surrounding town and are almost lost in the maze of the bazaar.

The Seventh Court

The seventh or the outer-most court is of four square streets and encompasses all the six others within. Many a mansion and house of considerable dimensions adorn its sides measuring 2108 feet by 1846 feet. The Gopuram gateway of this square is on the East, and is named the *Damodaran gopura vāsal* as at its entrance there is a shrine for Krishna as Damodaran. Sri Ranganatha graces this prakara in festive procession during the Brahmotsavams in Panguni (March) Chittirai (April) in the Horse Vahana, on the last day of the Vasanth festival in Vaikāśi, also in February as He proceeds to the float (Theppam) festival.

The Sixth Court

The next inner Court is the *Chittrai* or *Uttira* (சித்திரை வீதி) *Veedhi*, ascribed to a Chola Tiruvikraman. The prākāra is broad, and the temple cars of the Chitrai Brahmotsavam are dragged on this street, and the Lord's processions take place in this street on the first seven days of the Theppam Float festival.

At the South Western corner of this prākāra there is a shrine for *Manavala Mamunigal*, where daily *ārāthanās* are given as per prescribed *dittams* in the temple accounts. *St. Manavala* was the Thenkalai leader born in 1371 in Alvar Tirunagari. He lived to the age of 73 years and gave a new

turn to the teachings of Vedanta Desika. In his largeness of heart Manavala broke the commands of his Guru Tirukkoshtiyur Nambi, and gave out the secret doctrines freely to all since in the interest of the redemption of so many souls, he was prepared to sacrifice his own.

The Fifth Court—The Akalangan Tiruveedhi and the Temple Campus

Down the long and busy road, and after crossing the many transverse streets on either side occupied by the townsmen, merchants, banks and several offices, the temple of Sri Ranganatha is reached. The entrance is through a gopuram of considerable dimensions and sculptural beauty: the *Nanmukam Kottai Vasal.* The great Court-yard within is the *Akalangan Tiruveedhi.* The quadrangle is extensive, and flanked on either side with shops, and smaller shrines in between to Vaishnava Ācaryas.

On the left of the main entrance is the shrine to Ācarya Kurukesa or Koorattalvar. He was the foremost of Ramanuja's disciples, as he assisted his master in the writing of his *Bhashya* on the *Brahma Sutras.* Sri Ranganatha shows His grace on the baktha by stopping at this shrine as He returns (from festive processions) into the temple. And next to Kurukesa, there are the shrines to Tondar-adip-podi Alvar and still further north, the shrine to Tiruppan-alvar. And behind these, there is installed Vira Hanumar with the shrine to Vittala Krishnan.

The quadrangle has as its central piece, a four pillared mantapam. Sri Ranganatha halts during festivals at this mantapam where pooja is offered to Sri Ranganatha before he alights at the *Vahana mandapa.* On one of its pillars is sculptured a princely figure with a poniard resting on his waist, and one foot of his bearing the hero's (வீரக்கழல்) anklet. The figure is generally pointed as that of Poet Kambar as he is associated with this temple in inaugurating his *magnum opus*—the *Ramayanam.* The statue could not however be identified as such as only royalties wear such jewels or distinction on their person. Portrait sculptures came into vogue with the Vijayanagar period (A.D. 1336–1565), from

fourteenth century onwards as before it and earlier, only those of the Hindu pantheon and of human votive figures bearing lamps in their hands were the mode. And with the Nayak times, royalties in *sadha-seva* poses came to be introduced into temple pillar shafts, and wherever possible they figured as donors of a particular hall or of portion of the temple. This is evident in the temples at Tanjore, Madurai, Tirunelveli, Tenkasi, Srivillipputtur, Rameswaram, Alagarkoil, Kaliarkoil and many other places in South India.

From this angle, an unusual architectural feature is visible. These are certain saracenic or Moslem architectural remnants that yet remain on the enclosure walls in this Hindu temple. They are repeated in the western wall of the second prakara above the Senai Mudaliar shrine also. These are the remnants of the Moslem influence on this temple in the fourteenth century. Twice was Srirangam raided and terrible was her suffering.*

In the first Muslim raid under Malik Kafur (A. D. 1311) his men carried away the icon of Sri Ranganatha to distant Delhi along with inestimable booty from the temple treasury. While in the royal palace, Sri Ranganatha's beauty captured the imagination and heart of the Padushah's daughter, hereinafter named *Sultani*, and he was adored and worshipped by the young devotee. Time elapsed, and when peaceful times returned the temple priests approached the Padushah to restore to them their inestimable object of worship, and it was returned to them. The temple Ācāryas rushed back to Srirangam with the Idol of their heart and imagination and installed Him in the *sanctum-sanctorum*. The young princess, missing her heart's delight was in sore agony. Then on being appraised of the fact that the object of her devotions had been returned, rode to Srirangam in hot pursuit and finding Him installed in His *sanctum*, lost herself in His grace and was beatified. The Pādushah was intimated of the fact, and he on his part gave a large *jaghir* of villages for the

* See S. K. Ayyangar—*South India and her Muhammadan Invaders* pp. 157-160 also reference to *Guruparampara-prabhabham*, *Koyil-olugu*, *Yadeentrap-pravanap-prabhabham* also *Acharya Sukti-Muktavali*.

upkeep of the temple, renovated certain portions of the temple of which these are yet the standing remains.

The episode of Sultani—the Moslem devotee, is one to be correlated to those of *Kodhai*: Saint Andal of Srivillipputtur, Chera-kula-valli the daughter of the Chera Kulasekhara, and Chola-kula-valli, a daughter of the Chola and others, in their devotion to Sri Ranganatha.

In the second raid (A. D. 1327-28), the vicissitudes of the festive processional Sri Ranganatha was more eventful and disastrous to His bhaktas, as Srirangam was sacked. The Muslims coming on the Coleroon when Ranganatha was on a festive halt in a mantapam, cut off all the remnants that had stayed on, while the festive icon of Alagiya manavala was moved away to a place of safety by Vedanta Desika and Pillai-loka-achariar. The Muslims then entered and plundered Srirangam, mercilessly hacked 12,000 men, women and children to pieces and occupied Srirangam.

Those that escaped watched the havoc from the neighbouring villages only to be saved by Kampana Udaiyar's—a Sri Vaishnava. Years later, the icon Alagiya Manavala suffered strange vicissitudes, being carried at first to Sundarachalam (Alagarmalai) and then to the Kerala country: *Prapannamirthan* (Sources p. 38-39). After a short stay in that country, Desika took the images to Tirunarayanapuram in Mysore and finally installed them at Tirupati. In the mean while, Pillailokacharya's career closed with the sack of Srirangam, as he followed the image of Ranganatha to the places where he was carried, and he bravely perished a victim to the shock and the wounds he received in the course of its defence. By this time, the sultanate had declined, and Gopanna removedt he idols to Singavaram near Senji, his own head-quarters, and worshipped them in a cave temple till Kampanna and Gopannarya eventually re-installed Him at Srirangam in 1371 A.D. Gangadevi—the queen of Kampanna gives an account of Srirangam after its Muslim occupation in her *Madura Vijayam.**

---

* *Madhura Vijayam* gives the condition of *Srirangam* after the Muslim occupation thus:

The shrine that presents itself next on the right and facing the four-pillared mandapa, is dedicated to Saint Ācharya Nathamuni (A. D. 824-924). To him goes the credit of laying the foundation of the noble line of Ācaryas of the Vaishnavas, and of being also the first of the Acaryas. He was a native of Víranarayanapuram now popularly known as Kattumannarkoil * near Chidambaram in the South Arcot District.

His father Isvara Muni was a Pancharatrin, who was the progenitor of the celebrated family of the Tatacharyas,

---

"In Srirangam the Lord of serpents is seen warding off the tumbling debris of brick with his hood lest their fall disturb the sleep of yoga in which Hari is wrapped up there

When I look at the state of the temples of other Gods also my distress knows no bounds The foldings of their doors are eaten up by wood worms The arches over their inner sanctuaries are rent with wild growths of vegetation

These temples which were once resonant with the sounds of Mridanga drums are now echoing the fearful howls of jackals

The river Kaveri, uncurbed by proper bunds or dams has become deflected very much from her time honoured course and flows in all sorts of wrong directions as if imitating the Turuskas in their actions

The Brahmin streets where once the sacrificial smoke was ever seen rising and the chanting of Vedas always greeted the ears now exude the nasty odour of meat, and resound with the lion-roars of drunen Turuskas"

—S T in Cant VIII *Madura Vijayam*" p 61

And an inscription of Gopanarya giving his prayers to Sri Ranganatha is worth quoting "Hail! Prosperity! In the Saka year Bandhu priya (i e Saka—Samvat 1293)

VERSE—I Having brought (the God) from the Anjanadri (Mountain), the splendour of whose darkish peaks gives delight to the world having worshipped (Him) at Chenchi for some time, then having slain the Tulushkas whose bows were raised—Gopanarya, the Mirror of fame placing Ranganatha together with both Lakshmi and the Bhu Devi in his own town again duly performed excellent worship

VERSE—II Having carried Rangaraja, the Lord of the world, from the slope of the Vrishabhagiri (Mountain) to his capital, having slain by his army the proud Tulushka, soldiers having made the site of Sriranga united with the golden age (Kritayuga) and having placed there this (God) together with Lakshmi and the Bhū Devi,—the Brahman Gopana duly performs, like the lotus-born (Brahma) the worship which has to be practised"

Translation by S Tiruvenkatachari—*Madura Vijayam*—p 65—Annamalai University Series

Vedānta Deśika has immortalised Gopanna for his great services in two fine slokas, which are engraved on the Srirangam temple walls (Epi Ind VII pp 322 330)

* Kattumannarkoil, 16 miles from Chidambaram by bus is now a small town of commercial and religious importance with a temple for Vishnu as Sri Viranarayana Perumal and sub-shrines for Nathamuni and Alavandar

who have played a very important part in the religious history of South India. Nathamunigal was an erudite scholar in the Vedas, Smṛtis and other scriptures, a yogin and a devotee, and he used to make garlands for the local deity Rajagopala. Once he heard some pilgrims address Rajagopala with the Prabandha hymn which contained the beautiful expression "*Aravamuda*". It seemed to him that to contemplate God with the hymns of the Alvars which contained such a word was sweeter than the realisation of God by yoga itself. The Prabandhas had by then gone out of use in the land. For the purpose of recovering them, he proceeded to Alvar-Tirunagri and after considerable difficulties recovered them.

Nathamunigal divided the Prabandha into four parts of one thousand stanzas each, added introductory verses to each section, classified the verses according to different metres, and then introduced it to be sung in the temple of Rajagopala in his village. Not content with this, he took the very important step of approaching the authorities of Srirangam temple and persuaded them to institute a festival with the recitation of the *Prabandha*. From this time, the great Ekadasi festival in the month of Margazhi, lasting for three weeks and devoted to the chanting of the Prabandha, has been a great feature at Srirangam. And this has been taken up by all the prominent Vishnu temples of South India. And the establishment of the images of the Alvars and the conduct of the recitation-festival soon spread throughout the Sri Vaishnava land.

By giving the Prabandha the status of the Vedas in the temple festival, Nathamuni raised the language of the people to an equality with the hoary and learned tongue of the Brahminical clergy. He proved that the holiness of the works written in Tamil was not in any way inferior to that of works written in Sanskrit. The innovation was all the more remarkable for its accomplishment by one who was regarded as unsurpassed in Vedic lore and yogic contemplation. One immediate and momentous result of this great

reform was the rise of a new and extensive type of religious literature in South India, half Sanskrit and half Tamil, the object of which was to expound the Tamil Veda and reconcile its teachings with those of *prasthanatraya*. Commentaries of different volumes and qualities came from time to time into existence, and discussions of knotty passages in the *Prabandha* became as favourite a work with the scholars as the discussions of the *Brahma Sutras*.

The next edifice that greets one is the *Ranga Vilas Mantapam* which forms one of the structural excellences of the temple. This is possibly of the time of Tirumalai Nayak of Madurai (A.D. 1623-59) as seen from the similarity with the type of double pillared columns like those found in Madurai. They are in varying degrees of sculptural richness showing "considerable refinement and delicacy in design suggesting alike to those who work in stone or metal."

The facade of the mantapa is very attractive with sculptural figures in stucco depicting Krishna as Parthasarathi (driving the chariot of Arjuna), Sri Ranganatha in Yogasayana, Sree Rama, Chakkarathalvar and others. Sri Ranganatha halts at this mantapa for a day in every one of the Brahmotsavas in *Thai, Masi, Panguni* and *Chitrai*. This is also the *āsthana mantapa* for Ranganatha when any Ubayakar fails to perform the Ubayam or when the deity cannot be taken out in procession owing to rain or any other inconvenience.

To the west of the Ranga Vilas, there is the *Yanai-Erum mandapa* from where Sri Ranganatha mounts for procession the Elephant Vahanam; and, at that moment tender cocoanut-milk is offered to Sri Perumal as the *nivethanam*.

To the right side of this mantapa in the interior is the *Sannithi* of Sri Andal as *Soodik-Kodutha Nachiar*. This struc-

Note: T. A. Gopinatha Rao identifies *Srinatha* of the Anbil Plates of Sundara Chola II (Epi. Ind. XV. para 5) with Acarya Nathamunigal. And the plates say that Srinatha was born in the agrahara of Viranarayanapuram and died at Gangaikondasolapuram, which must be in A.D 1024 at the earliest. Sri Alavandar was his grandson, the Guru and Preceptor of Ramanuja. This is subject to scrutiny.

ture is of the Chola period, and was formerly the Toppu-Raman Sannithi. Even today, the enshrined figures of Sri Rama, Lakshmana, Sita and Hanuman are here, along with Sri Andal. On account of Moslem troubles, Sri Andal had to be moved from her original shrine in *Adaya-valainthan-Tiruveedhi* and reconsecrated here.

On the sixth day of the festival when Sri Ranganatha mounts the Elephant Vahan, He halts at this Andal sanctum for giving His *darsan;* and on his processional return has an exchange of garlands; Sri Perumal's garland is bestowed on Sri Andal and He takes in return Her garland for His wearing.

Coming out of Andal's shrine, a scene of sculptural exquisiteness is visible on the left, in the shrine of Sri Venugopala, founded by Sri Rama Bhatta of the time of the Hoysala Narasimha II (A.D. 1217) (A.R.E. 1937 Report). The shrine is of fine proportions and bears on its outer walls, sculptures and figurines of high artistic merit. It is almost a Museum of Hoysala Art at its best, its pillars and pilasters almost reminding one of the excellences of the Subrahmanya shrine at Tanjavur of the Nayak period. Thereafter, the office of the Trustees of the Temple is reached.

The *Vāhana mantapa* lies next, to the north-west of the Ranga Vilas mantapa. It is here, the preparations for the festive processions are made. e.g. installing the deity on the respective vahanas. On return, the Vahana is set down and then the Lord passes into the temple courts and into His sanctum. In its close vicinity, there is a shrine for Krishna, the walls and pillars of which are finely sculptured, Possibly this shrine is also of the Hoysala period. The *Amutha Kalasa Garuda* shrine which is next-adjacent is also of beautiful workmanship: and, Garuda is seen holding a *Kalasa* of *Amirtha* in one of his hands.

At the end of the Ranga-Vilas Mantapam there is a *Kalkambam* and *Balipeetam.* On one side of the *Kalkambam* there are beautiful carved figures of Hanuman, Garuda and

the Chakkaram—the Discus of Vishnu. These were formerly in worship by the Harijans who offered puja to them; and, now left alone after the temple was thrown open to them on the 2nd of February 1947.

Next is to be seen the Chokkappanai Hanuman, opposite to the Karthigai gopura vāsal.

Chakkarathalvar Sannidhi

Proceeding from the Chokkappanai Hanuman one finds at the extreme left the Chakkarathalvar Sannidhi. The deity is considered 'powerful and therefore he is not taken out in procession from his sanctum. It is related that because of his powerful aspect he is kept under control by Sri Parthasarathi at the extreme right, situated exactly opposite to this sannidhi. The bronze figure represents the processional Utsavar. Pooja is offered during the four *pooja-kālās*. Only certain ceremonies such as *Jeshtabhishekam* and *Tirunakshathram* are performed for the *Utsavar*. There is the *Moolavar;* this is the *Sudarsanam* or the *Chakra* of Vishnu. There are inscribed the 108 *Aksharms* over the circle attached to this *Moolavar*. They represent the 108 yogic *Yanthrams*. On the reverse side of the Moolavar, is Yoga Narasimha who could be seen only in the course of *Pradakshanam:* coming round the corridor. Only the Archakas have access to Him from within the *Moolasthanam*. Chakkarathalvar of Vishnu is almost a counter-part of the *Navagrahas* in a Siva temple. Saturdays are considered most effective for worship at this shrine. Pooja lasts till about 8-30 p.m. at nights at this shrine.

The Administrative Office of this Devastanam is located to the east of the Kartigai-gopura Vasal. Attached to this, is the Devastanam Library and Museum, which adds to the Cultural wealth of the place. It is a centre ef atttraction to visitors; the Library contains a varied collection of books on religion, philosophy and the fine arts. The Museum has a very rare collection of bronzes, remnants of an ivory palanquin of Nayak period, ancient coins and other antique works

of art. Old pieces of coats of mail and shields and swords used by ancient Hindu Rajas are also preserved here, besides a number of Copper plate inscriptions.

Saint Ramanuja's Sannidhi

Opposite to the Museum, there is the Ramanuja or the *Udayavar sannidhi*, known also as *Bashyakār sannidhi*. It is the acarya's last resting place, It is a sub-shrine managed by a separate *Pooja paricharaka*, the right of general control and supervision being vested with the authorities of the Srirangam administration. The acarya's figure is taken out in festive processions on his (*Thirunakshathram*) natal asterism day; and within the temple *prakaras* during *Adhyayana Uthsavam*.

By the side of the Udayavar sannidhi is located the Parthasarathi sannidhi, and next to it is *Pillai lokachariar's* sannidhi. He is the author of the *Eighteen Rahasyas*, being esoteric theological works. He perished bravely in his act of moving the Alagiya Manavala—the Utsavar of Srirangam to a place of safety during the Moslem raid of 1327 A.D.

The Fourth Court or Aalinātan Tiruveedhi

The actual portion of the temple may be said to begin at the fourth Court, the *Āalinātan Tiruveedhi* of Tirumangai-alvar. Its outer walls measure 1235 feet by 849 feet with a gopuram in the centre of three of its sides, on the north, south and east. The inner court is entered through the *Kārthigai gopura vāsal*, with Ganga and Yamuna figuring as *dvarapalakas* on either side. This is the second gateway leading into the inner temple precincts. The gopuram gateway is so called because in the month of November-December, on the Karthigai day, a holy beacon of fire (of palmyrah leaves on a scaffolding of about 35 feet in height) is lit ceremoniously, at a distance of a few yards from this gopura entrance.

Entering the *Prākāra*, there is the spacious *Paraman mantapam* named after Paraman, its architect: The sanctum bears *Garudalvar*—the bearer of Vishnu. Garudalvar is a

colossal figure in stucco painted in colours and in a sitting posture. The festive (*Utsavar*) icon of Garuda is set before this great figure, and receives daily (*āradhan*) offerings and (*Tirumanjanam*) ablutions on festival occasions, and on the day of the natal asterism of Garuda. During the annual *Vaikuntha Ekadesi Festival*, Sri Perumal decked in *Mohini alankāra* halts at this mantapam when thousands of devotees enjoy the *darsan* of the Lord.

With this Garuda shrine at its southern end, the Garuda mantapa is a lofty and majestic one. Besides, it is of historical interest. Each of the pillars supporting this huge structure is embellished with a portrait sculpture on its shaft. The figures are of those reigning princes of Madurai Nayak dynasty who ruled from—Tiruchirappalli, and of donors who have been responsible for this porch.

To the right of the Garuda mantapa there is a shrine for Tiruk-kachchi Nambi cared for by a separate Pooja *paricharaka*.

The Nammalvar Sannidhi on the left side of this Garuda mantapam is also another of the sub-temples.

Adjacent to these is enclosed the *Surya Pushkarni* tank, now in disuse and disrepair; and at its opposite northern end of the *prakaram* there is located its counter-part the sacred *Chandra Pushkarni*: the two forming the "Pools of the Sun and the Moon".

Vahana Arai and Temple Cars:

Next to the Suryapushkarni, is the *Vahana-Arai* or the rooms wherein the following silver and gold Vahanams (Vehicles for the festive processions) are preserved: (1) One *Sesha* or Serpent Vahanam, (2) One *Karpaka Vriksham*, (3) Three (Horse) *Asva Vahanams*, (4) Two *Garuda Vahanams*, (5) One *Yali Vahanam* of silver, (6) One *Elephant Vahanam* of silver (7) One *Single Prabai* and One Double *Prabai*, (8) One *Simha* or Lion Vahanam, (9) One *Hanumantha Vahanam*, (10) Two *Hamsa Vahanams* and (11) Two Palanquins.

From the steps of the *Garuda mantapam* towards the West, the circum-ambular court proceeds on to one's left, and soon five large cylindrical structures are noticed. These are large granaries for storing several thousands of measures of paddy required the year round for the daily rice *padittaram* and for the festive requirements. Their frontage is a spacious quadrangle where paddy is dried and hand-pounded, with rooms where the temple provisions are stored and issued.

The *Garuda Mandapam* steps at their right lead to the temple *madaipalli* (Kitchen) the Sesharayar Mantapam and the Vellai Gopuram to be described later.

Proceeding further on the Provision Stores, and turning the corner, one reaches the *Dhanvantari* (the Medicine man of the Gods) shrine and the adjacent *Chandra Pushkaranai* tank. The former sanctum is for the Physician of the Devas, and it is of interest that on a particular day of the year, Sri Ranganatha is administered the "*நாவல் பழ அமுது*" (Koyilolugu 43) for His health. The *pushkaranai*, is semi-circular with a number of Punnai trees (Calophyllum) growing on its edges with a number of votive figures. These form a spectacular scene.

Then the (*முக்கண் வாசல்*) *Mukkan-vasal* giving entrance to the South, West and Eastern doorways, and a door step with five pits (*ஐந்து குழி*), are reached. And, from here, is reached an elevated shrine dedicated to *Mettu-alagiya-Simhar*. The construction is ascribed to Chola Dharma Varma, and the figure is a gorgeous *Narasimha* in stucco and painted in glaring colours. He is known as *Edutha-kai-alagiya-simhar* (*எடுத்த கை அழகிய சிங்கர்*) or as the Narasimha who struck down the irate Hiranya and as well protected and blessed the young Prahlada. As one comes down the steps, there is a four-pillared mantapa, where, it is said, Poet Kambar inaugurated his Rāma Kāthai, the *Ramayanam*. This fact is also yet to be authenticated; but, a reference in the *Divya Suri-Charithai* says that here, in an adjacent spacious Arulalar Perumal mandapam, there took place a disputation between Ramanuja and Yagnamurti for fourteen days, and at

the end, *Mettu-alagia-Simhar*, the aforesaid Narasimha, signified the victory of Ramanuja over his adversary, by a roaring laughter.

The Nachiyar-Sannidhi. Overlooking these exterior mantapas, is a covered court leading into the sanctuary of the goddess, *Nachiar Sri Ranganayaki.* It is a distinct inner temple within the major outer precincts of the fourth *prakara.* The majestic prakara all-round it, has several *Kolumantapas* of which the *Panguni Uttara mantapa* to the South and the *Dhola Utsava mantapa* to the North are of huge proportions. The frontal twelve-pillars supporting the southern prakara wall are embellished with the figures of the ten Alvars, and ceiling above the pillared corridor is embellished with paintings from the *Ramayana,* such as those of Rama, Sita and Lakshmana, and scenes from the *Vishnu Purana* and from epic accounts.

The outer mantapa ceilings are also embellished with Nayak paintings with legends in Telugu, probably of the times of Vijaya Ranga Chokkanatha Nayak (1704–1731 A.D.). These paintings as illustrating the contemporary life of the people are worth a closer study and a better state of preservation. The paintings in the *Tiru-vun-nazhi prakara* of the Goddess is of Puranic interest being scenes from the *Bhagavatha.* They need also care and better preservation.*

The Goddess, Sri Ranganachiar, in her sanctum is in a sitting posture. Unusually enough, two *Moolastāna* figures of the Goddess will be noted by the worshipper. The inner-

* "The other scenes from the legends of Prahlada and Banasura are also here. Wall paintings of the period of the Nayaks of Madura of the conventional class exist in the vestibules round Ranganatha and Ranganayaki shrines, and on the high Prakara Mandapams adjoining the Ranganayaki shrine. The scenes are from *Ramayana, Mahabaratha, Vishnu Purana,* the *Vaishnava Tirupatis,* and other scenes connected with Ranganatha's glory, and also connected with scenes of ethnological interest. As most of these paintings have legends in Telugu Characters and one of them speaks of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha Nayaka, it is clear that the paintings are of historical value, not to speak of their ethnic, religious and artistic interests. As the paintings round the shrines are covered with smoke and soot in some places and white-washed elsewhere, preservative measures are immediately necessary".—T. N. R.

most and farthest was the original Goddess, walled in during a moslim raid, and later discoverd.

A special characteristic of the festival of the Goddess is that Sri Ranganāchiar never steps out of her shrine, as it is said of Her, as a 'Padi-Thānda-Pathni' (படி தாண்டா பத்தினி); and Sri Ranganatha Himself goes to her temple on six festive occasions in the year. The most significant occasion is on the annual *Panguni Uttiram* day, when Sri Ranganatha and Sri Ranganachiar are seated on a swing and worshipped together.

To the east of Sriranga Nachiar's shrine, and adjoining the southern gopura entrance, is situated a shrine to the great Vaishnava Commentator, *Vedanta Desika*, and next to his that to *Peria Vaccan Pillai* enshrined with his *Ishta Deva*—the Lord Srinivasa of Venkatam.

Next the *Vellai-gopuram* is reached. It is the largest and the tallest in the entire Scheme. It is of nine storeys in height, and from its top-floor one can have a panoramic view of this great temple and its natural setting.

From here, it is also possible to trace out all the different mantapas, which combine to present a wide expanse of uninspiring flat roofs with here and there a golden cupola asserting itself to indicate the position of some important shrine. Towards the centre of this scheme, the innermost sanctuary may be recognised by its apsidal vault of gold—*the Ranga Vimanam*, while nearer the main southern entrance is another large cupola marking the *Garuda* shrine. The height of the *Vellai* gopuram is 164 feet 2" and stands over a plinth area of 7410 feet. The other three circum-ambular streets round the temple have each its majestic entrance towers.

Of the several mantapas in the entire scheme, the *Thousand-Pillared Mantapa** is the largest. Its construction is ascribed to Perumal Devan, and as completed by Kanbaya

---

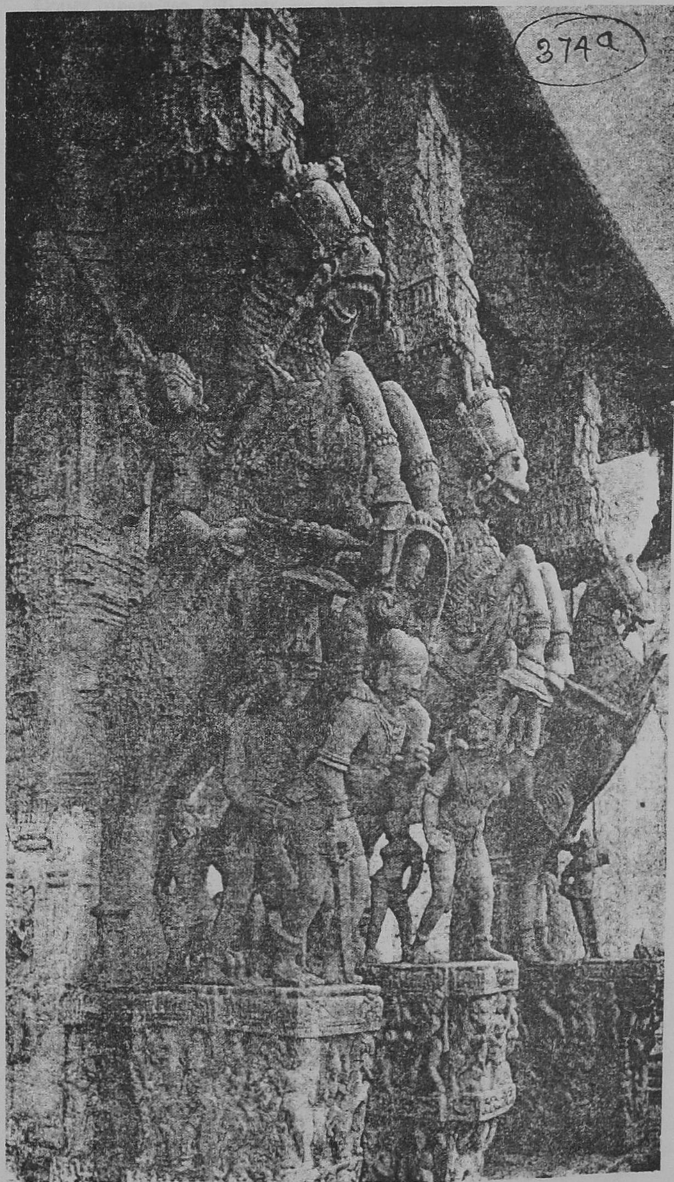
* The Journal of Indian Art and Industry (viii) 1899; plates 89-94 for Plan and Section of Thousand-pillared mandapam, columns and doors.

veeraya Dandaya; Nayakan, this prakara is the largest, measuring 500 feet by 160 feet. Arranged in rows, within are over 953 carved granite monoliths, all leading up to a shrine at the farther end, where the other fortyseven pillars which make up the thousand are improvised by temporary posts and pillars of the grand pandal for *Vaikuntha Ekadasi* festival. This is the Durbar Hall of Sri Ranganatha during the annual *Ekadasi Brahmotsavam.*

Nearby is the *Tirumamani* (திருமாமணி) mantapa. It is a graceful structure 40 feet square and of 28 pillars, and is ascribed to Tirumangai Alvar. Here at this mantapa, Sri Renganatha graces the recitals of the (*Tiruvaimozhi*) of Thousand pasuras. These recitals and their actual interpretation by songs and discourses, and by *abhinaya* or *bhāvas*, by *Araiyars* impersonating the Alvars in the Vaikunta Ekadasi festival are enjoyed by thousands of bhaktas. Facing this great structure, lies a smaller one, known as the *Seshagiri Rao mantapam,* 95 feet by 83 feet, which stands on 104 columns. The frontage of it is borne on a series of eight colonnades of furiously fighting steeds, each rearing up to a height of nearly nine feet, with riders on their back, and sticking javelins into the sides of attacking tigers. These impress one as the most majestic specimens of stone carving found in the temple, and the whole is executed in a technique " so emphatic as to be not like stone but hardened steel "! Possibly the motif is suggestive of the time that these were sculptured. The armed forces of the Vijianagar Empire were of the finest calibre, inspired and led by rulers of great audacity and daring. They reveal something of the temper, " a feeling of exultant invicibility translated into the power of good or evil embodied in the art ". Each of them is a single piece of gneiss worked in very minute details.

The Third Court of Kulasekhara

The next inner Court is the third prakara known as *Kulasekharan Tiruveedhi.* It is entered by *Aryabhattal* gateway, so named, as formerly it was guarded by men from the North. Chakrattālvar and Garuda guard the gate now. The



The Vijayanagar Colonnades, Srirangam Temple.

Court measures 426 feet by 295 feet. The centre within is a marvellous sight of gold—the (அணி அரங்கன் திருமுற்றம்) *Ani-arangan tirumurram.* Formerly the centre with the Dwaja-Stambam and Bali-peetam was bare, but they have since been closed, completely covered over with plates of glittering gold by the munificence of the family of M/s V. Perumal Chetty & sons and other donors. Sri Ranganatha arrives here in a chariot, and hoists the flag (*Dwaja*) to signify the commencement of the *brahmotsavams* in the months of Thai, Panguni and Chittrai. The bhakta offers here his first obeisance to the Lord, before entering the inner sanctum. Here, in time of drought, the *balipeetam* is given an ablution of Cauveri water in hundreds of potfuls which is believed to be succeeded by bountiful rain.

At this sanctuary, the bhaktas place their first fruits and produce of the year as their thanks-offerings.

To the West of the *Aryabhattal* entrance is the *Tirupavittra* mandapa of Kulasekhara. Here, in the month of Avani, (Aug.-Sept.) Sri Perumal celebrates the annual function of wearing fresh *Tiru-pavittram* (thread-wearing) for Himself and bestowing it on all His bhaktas. To the west of this mandapa, there are the sanctums for Hayagriva and Saraswathi.

At the north-west of the *Tiru-murram,* there is on a pillar, a standing figure of Hanuman in *sadha-seva* pose. His worship is much sought after, as for one who is lavish in answering the prayers of his devotees. A *dhittam* for a daily *ārathana* and *abhishekam* for the Hanuman is performed punctiliously.

To the West of the *Tiru-murram,* there is the spacious *Tulabhara Mantapa* of Maravarman Sundara Pandiyan (A.D. 1251–1268) (Vide A.R.E 1912 p. 142) Sundara Pandyan weighed himself seated on a caparisoned elephant on a boat, and used that treasure for this temple's beneficence. This mantapa has laterly been used as a *Dholak Mandapa* for the swing festival in the month of November by Kanthadaiyar Ramanujan, the elder brother of Rama Raya of Vijayanagar

dynasty. Proceeding further east, there is the old temple kitchen (*Madaippalli*) for preparing the offerings to Sri Perumal, also two capacious stone receptacles which formerly stored the ghee required for the preparations.

Proceeding west-wards of this Court, there are a set of rooms for keeping the temple paraphernalia, and at the centre of the passage a covered pillared processional passage known as *Senai-venran-tiru-mandapa* of Kulasekhara also known as *Tirunadai-maligai* (திருநடை மாளிகை) which leads to its further end. This path-way and enclosure is now known as *Durai pradakshinam* as it leads to a spacious *Ul-kodai mandapa* raised by the then reigning Nayak king, Vijia Ranga Chokkanatha, who had instituted a summer festival for Sri Perumal during the hot months and conferred the appellation *Dorai* for the *Pradakshinam* as an honorofic appellation for royalties and men of rank.

Nearby, at the centre of this Tiruveedhi, there is the (*Parama-padha-vāsal*)—the Gate of Salvation,—which is opened only on the *Vaikuntha Ekadasi* day for the passing through of Sri Perumal and all his bhaktas, and remains open for the succeeding nine days of the *Rappatthu* festival. They enter through this gateway and pass to the Thousand-pillared mantapa. Sri Perumal also stops near at this entrance to the *vasal* for the recitals of the Vedas and Prabandhas before proceeding further on.

Turning over the corner of this Court there are located the *Aravinda Nayakiyar Tiru-madaip-palli* where the food offerings for Sri Perumal are prepared and also from where the Karthigai Torch is lit and taken to Sri Perumal's presence and from there to light the beacon on the Karthigai Deepam day.

The Second Court of Raja Mahendra Chola

Almost at the centre of the third Court is the *Nazhikai-kettan* gateway giving entrance into the second court: the *Rajamahendra Cholan Tiruveedhi*. Its sides measure 240 feet by 181 feet. The gateway is guarded at the front by Badran

and Subadran, and at the rear by *Sanga-Nithi* and *Paduma-Nithi.* The entrance is named *Nazhikai-kettan,* as in former days there was a clepsydra or time measuring plate for knowing the time of the hour of the day; and it was the custom, that Lord Ranganatha, when he came out of this Court for any festive procession, was intimated the time of the day by *Nazhikai.* At this Court, the *Pancha-Parruva* festivities, the nine days of *Rappatthu* in *Vaikuntha Ekadasi*, the *Chitrai-Kodai* festival of four days, and the *Ekanta seva* as Perumal enters into His Sanctum with the music of Veena, are conducted.

The Court bears to the left of the entrance the Temple Treasury (கருவூலம்) where all the costly jewels and vessels are safe-guarded; and as the corner is turned a cloistered corridor bears a number of rooms, where the Lord's apparel are kept, and where water is warmed for His ablutions, where sandal paste is prepared, for making the Civet ointment on Fridays (சுக்கிர வார அறை), and where the (திருமண் காப்பு) and sweet scents for the sandal paste are prepared.

Then, the *Padiyetta sevai* flight of steps (corresponding to Panchakshara steps in Siva temples) appear, giving entrance into the *Rajamahendra Tiruvāsal.* It was here that Vijaya Ranga Chokkanatha, the reigning Nayak, his royal spouse, son and daughter-in-law were denied the sight of (படியேத்த சேவை) since they arrived just a little late, and Sri Perumal had just passed over the steps. And when requested by the monarch for a repetition, they were told promptly "Och-chetikko", "the next year". The rules laid down by Ramanuja in the twelfth century for the conduct of these ceremonials were so rigid and inviolable that they could not be waived for any reason. This was on a *Kowsika Ekadasi* day, and the royal group is still to be seen in ivory, as they stood transfixed by that reply. The figures are now encased in glass, and offer an example to the immutability of the standing orders prevailing in the temple. The manner of Sri Perumal's coming out of His sanctum, and of His return was likewise settled. It was quiet and noiseless as

that of a serpent (Sarpa-gathi) when coming out, and when returning the procedure was (சிம்ம கதி) *Simha-gathi*, rapid and triumphant as that of a lion.

Proceeding further on, one finds at the north western corner, there is the temple *Yāgasāla*. Here Sri Perumal has his *tirumanjanam* (bath) during the *Brahmotsavas,* and returns after the *Pancha-Kunda homams*; and on all other days His representative—the *Yāga-bherar*—who is also known as *Tiru-aranga-azhu-kaiyar* officiates for Sri Perumal. Opposite to the Yāgasala is the porch of Tondaiman—known as *Tondaiman-Kuradu*.

As the corner is now turned, there is the sanctum of *Vishwaksenar* or *Senai Mudaliar*. He is considered the Minister of Sri Perumal and the Generalissimo of His forces. He is in a sitting posture, while the standing figure is meant for being taken out on festive occasions. By his side are Hanuman and Vibishana as his advisers. The procedure is that Sri Perumal's mandates are sent out through this functionary, and when Sri Perumal moves out of the temple precincts for any festivity, He hands over charge to him, and when He returns, He bestows a garland on the temple *Maniagar*, as personifying the *Senai Mudaliar*. All Perumal's food offerings are also offered to this Senai Mudaliar.

The Arjuna Mantapam:

The porch next in order is *Arjuna Mantapam* to the east of Senai Mudaliar's shrine. It is a spacious mandapa, from where Sri perumal, with the Alvars and acaryas presides over the *Prabanda* recitals, and witnesses their acting the Puranic episodes with mudras and abhinayas for the ten days of the *Pagal-Patthu* (பகல் பத்து) *Ekadasi* festival. On the evening of the tenth day, Sri Perumal is bedecked here in *Mohini guise* (*Avatharam*) and proceeds to the *Vaikunda Ekadasi Mantapa*. Sri Perumal also gives *darsan* as such at this mantapa on the *Kowsika Ekadasi* and *Sri Ramanavami* festivities.

Kulasekhara Nāchiar:

Nearby, there is a sanctum for Chera Kulavalli, daughter of the Chera Kulasekhara, in the North-western corner of this mantapa. The young devotee lost her heart and soul to Sri Ranganātha, and the Chera gave her away in marriage to the deity with a bountiful dowry with which, benefactions and improvements to this temple have been carried out. In deference to His devotees' wishes, Sri Perumal gives *darsan* here seated with Chera Kula-Valli on the Sri Ramanavami day. Near Chera-Kula-valli's sanctum, in this mantapa, there is another for the Moslem devotee—Sultani. Her resemblance is painted on the wall, and Sri Perumal gives a (*Padiyetta Sevai*) *darsan* for this devotee on the first ten days of the *Pagal-patthu-festival.*

Adjacent to this is the *Revathi Mantapa*, where Sri Perumal celebrates His natal asterism by an abishekam for Himself and receives ārathana on this day in the year. To the south of Revathi and on a lower level to the Arjuna Mantapa, there is the spacious *Kili Mantapa* named after a Kili Chola, where formerly there were kept a number of parrots. This early structure has laterly been renovated by Tirumangai-mannan in the seventh century.

The south eastern corner of this mantapa bears a shrine for *Krishnan.* Therein are installed Krishna, his parents, Para-Vāsudeva, Devaki, Rohini and others. Para-Vāsudeva is here seen with a pot of milk and a feeder for Krishna. The annual *Uri-yadi* (உறியடி) festival is celebrated here for two days during *Sri Jayanthi.* The *Kili* Mantapa as laterly renovated, with its twin pillars and flower corbels and structural excellences, is worthy of being noted.

What is next seen is a painted portrait of Srinivasa Perumal of Tirupati. The legend is that, Pillaip-perumal Ayyangar would not sing the praises of Srinivasa of Tirupati, and Sri Ranganātha pacified him here saying that He and Srinivasa are one and identical.

What next appears before the worshipper is the extensive *Alagia Manavālan Tiru Mantapa.* It also bears the name

Sandana Mantapa. This great mantapa overlooks the sacred door-steps leading into the sanctum-sanctorum of Sri Ranganātha; and, worshippers congregate here during times of *drathandas.* Here at this mantapa, Sri Perumal receives an *abibheka* on the *Ekadasi* and *Amavasya* days. Facing Ranganatha from at a distance, is a standing figure of Garuda in *Sadhaseva* pose. He inaugurates the flag-hoisting on the *Dhvaja Stambham*, and the taking down after the festival is over. Nearby, is a Chamber of Mirrors (கண்ணாடி அறை) wherein Sri Ranganātha delights to give *seva* to His bhaktas staying there during the nights of the Brahmotsava. It is a *divya darsan* to worship Him there.

The First Court:

From this mandapa, the *sanctum sanctorum* of Sri Ranganātha is reached by the Tiru-anukkan (திரு அணுக்கன்) gateway guarded on either side by Jaya-Vijayal. The door is a highly ornamented one with sturdy brass knobs. Once inside this entrance, the *Gayatri Mantapa* borne on twenty-four pillars is reached. Two pillars standing opposite the entrance are (திருமணத் தூண்) and they are said to support the feet of Para-Vāsudeva worshipping Sri Perumal from above the Sikhara. The centre of the *Gayatri Mantapa* bears an elevated platform where the food offerings for Sri Perumal are placed.

The sanctuary of Sri Perumal is known as *Periya Sannithai* and it is a square compartment, but the actual chamber outside is circular, the shape of the whole "resembling a small chaitya hall as may be seen by its golden domical roof—the Ranga Vimanam projected above the flat roof outside". The circular chamber has on its outer wall two niches for Viswaksenar or Vigneshwara on the right, and Goddess Durga to the left. The chamber: *Tiru-vun-nazhi* has a square circum-ambular corridor known as *Dharma Varma Tiruveedhi.* The upper portions of this prakara wall have Nayak paintings of over 300 years old, depicting almost exact topographical line drawings in colour of the

One Hundred and Eight *(நூற்றெட்டு திவ்ய தேசம்)* Vaishnavite centres of worship. The ceiling of the corridor bear paintings of scenes from the *Ramayana* and of the *sthala Purana*. The paintings are in a neglected state, blackened with dust and soot, and had better be preserved well and early. The prakara has besides niches for Vasudeva and Yoga Narasimha. And over the circular roof of the *Sanctum sanctorum* is the *Sriranga Vimanam* in gold with the figure of Para Vasudeva facing south and in a standing posture and four gold Kalasams representing the four Vedas—Rig, Yajur, Sama and Adharvana. This Vimana with the four Kalasams are visible from the *Senai Mudaliar pradakshanam;* and, the Paravasudevar from the *Kili Mandapa.* As the bhakta approaches the holy presence of Sri Ranganatha over the flight of Kulasekhara steps of the sanctum, he is in sight of Sri Perumal as *Yoga Sayanamurti* lying recumbent on Adisesha serving as His couch, and the serpent's five hoods spread over the head of the Lord like an umbrella. The Lord is also seen with His right hand pointing to his crown and the left pointing to his feet, thus showing His immanence in all souls, and that His feet are the salvation of all. The figure of the Lord is twenty-one feet in length and is in stucco. He faces the south, the direction of Lanka, as says Tondar-adip-podi Alvar :

> *" குடதிசை முடியை வைத்துக் குணதிசை பாதம் நீட்டி*
> *வடதிசை பின்பு காட்டித் தென்திசை இலங்கை நோக்கி*
> *கடல் நிறக்கடவுள் எந்தை அரவணைத் துயிலுமா கண்டு*
> *உடல் எனக்குருகுமாலோ என்செய்கேன் உலகத்தீரே "*
>
> *[திருமாலை பாசுரம் 19]*

And possibly Sri Perumal's vision of the South accounts for the prosperity of the Southern regions forming the *Tamil Nadu.*

In front of the recumbent *Moolavar* in this holy sanctum, there are installed the festive and processional Sri Ranganātha, in a standing posture with Sri Devi and Sri Bhudevi—the Goddesses seated on either side. These images are taken out in procession in all the festivals, the year round. And, at the foot of *Yogasayana Perumal,* there is a bronze of Yāgabherar —also known as Tiru-aranga-mālikaiyār, who during the

Moslem raids, was in worship and officiated in all the temple festivities. The moolavar of Sri Ranganātha lying on Adisesha is annually anointed with a special unguent: (தைலக் காப்பு). The ointment is a preparation of very costly ingredients which gives special merit to the holy figure. And in their sacred presence the worshipper in ecstatic delight and devotion loses himself and remembers the beautiful lines of Tirumangai Ālvar :

" குலந்தரும் செல்வம் தந்திடும் அடியார் படுதுயர் ஆயினவெல்லாம்
நிலந்தரஞ் செய்யும், நீள்விசும்பு அருளும், அருளொடு
பெருநிலமளிக்கும்
வலந்தரும், மற்றுந்தந்திடும், பெற்றதாயினும் ஆயின செய்யும்
நலந்தரும் சொல்லை நான் கண்டுகொண்டேன் நாராயணா
என்னும் நாமம்."

The structures of further interest within the prakaras number about thirty-eight. Of these, the sanctum of the Alvars, Sri Rama, the Paramapathanathar, Srinivasa Perumal, Boja Ramar are of particular interest.

The several gopuras and mandapas in the temple and its general layout, built during the centuries are of different patterns of the Dravidian style of architecture. Its mode is particularly Vaishnavite, and a pilgrim to Srirangam is doubly blessed by the grace of Sri Ranganātha, and by the abundant cultural education that he acquires.

The temple covers an area of nearly one hundred and sixty acres, the outermost prakara measuring 155·6 acres and the innermost ·9 acres and the total length of all the prakara walls being above 32,154 feet or nearly six miles.

The Temple Jewels:

The Temple Jewels are of priceless value and of high cultural interests. They are myriad, and have been contributed by ruling monarchs of many centuries. Many of them are not to be identified regarding their donors. Some, there are of historical interest, of Krishnappa Nayak (A.D. 1452), of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha Nayak (1704–31 A.D.), and of others. Almost a recent one is a gold plate presented by King Edward VII on the occasion of his visit (as Prince of Wales) to South India in 1875. The collection includes a precious

garment of pearls (*Mut-thangi*)* now renovated in five pieces and valued at about eleven lakhs, which was originally presented by Vijayaranga Chokkanatha Nayak (A.D.1706–1732). A coat of gold and gems presented by Chokkanatha and his queen Rani Mangammal (A.D. 1689), is another. It is in eleven pieces set with rubies, emeralds and diamonds. This Irattina Angi (இரத்தின அங்கி) and Ratna-Kreetam (இரத்தின கிரீடம்) are valued at about eleven lakhs. An earlier Ratna-angi and a Kreetam is also mentioned as presented by the Nayak Krishnappa and his son Kumara Krishnappa costing about a lakh and fifty thousands *pons*, and this was consecrated by Kumara Narasimha Vathoola Desikar—(*Koyilolugu* p. 150)

The *Ratna-angi* presented by Rani Mangammal, was renovated in 1911, and Sri Ranganatha wears this for *Mohini Alankaram*, only once in the year on the *Vaikuntha Ekadasi* day. And the *Mut-thangi* decorates the recumbent moolasthana figure of Sri Ranganatha only for four days in the year during the *Vaikuntha Ekadasi* festival. Among the other jewels, the set of *Kreedams* or crowns are of great artistic merit, and the one known as *Pandiyan Kondai* (பாண்டியன் கொண்டை) is of much antiquarian interest. The Kreedams for the head are in different shapes to suit the different *alankārams* or decorations suited to the festival; such as the *Mohini Alankaram* when God Ranganātha is decorated as a Mohini; the Muttangi or Coat of Pearls seva or darsan when Ranganatha is adorned with this Coat from neck to feet and the feet adorned with gold Kavachams. A fee is levied from pilgrims for this special *seva* from within the *sanctum sanctorum*.

These temple jewels are a rare collection, and they are exhibited by the temple authorities for a fee of Rupees *fifty* when high dignitaries visit the temple.

The Temple festivals:

Srirangam is a perennial centre of pilgrimage for worshippers from all parts of India. For 322 days in the

* See *Indian Express*, 3-1-1963.

year, the entire festivals of the Vaishnavite calendar are celebrated. The most attractive and one of the grandest in South India is the *Vaikuntha Ekadasi* or *Tiru-adhyayana Utsavam* which falls in Margazhi (December–January) and lasts for twenty-one days. The special characteristic feature of the festival is that, as originally instituted by Tirumangai Alvar, the *Tiruvaimozhi* verses are given the *Adhyayana* or chantings, and expositions in discourses in the presence of Sri Ranganātha. The festival is of two periods: The festivities of the first ten days begun by Tirumangai Mannan are called *Pukal-patthu* (பகல் பத்து) and held in the Chitra Mandapam or *Pakal-patthu Mantapam*. The festive processions take place in the day-time, and Ranganatha returns to His sanctum thereafter. Those of the succeeding ten days begun by St. Nathamuni (824–924 A.D.) occur at nights and are called the Rāppaththu (இராப் பத்து). The first day of *Rāppaththu* is the Ekadasi day. It is believed that those who worship the God on that special occasion and pass through with the Deity the northern entrance of the third enclosure called the *Paramapadha Vāsal* (பரமபத வாசல்) which is opened only on this occasion and on the succeeding nine days, are sure of salvation.

During the second part of the festival the deity starts very early in the morning from His sanctum, passes through the *Pon-Kumbam* (பொன் கம்பம்) *pradakshina* and the *Paramapadha vasal* and the *Thovittorai vāsal*, and reaches the thousand pillared mantapa. In front of this great mandapa a spacious *pandal* is erected and illuminated with multi-coloured electrical fittings and beautifully decorated as suited for the great occasion. During this *Irappatthu*, Sri Perumal halts at this mandapa during the whole day and till 9 p.m. when He returns to His sanctum to listen to the chanting of the *Prabandhas*, and on the last day bestows *Moksha* to Nammalvar and the Alvars.

Another feature of this *Rappattu* of ten days is the *Ekantha Sevai*. This was instituted by the then Nayak ruler Vijiaranga Chokkanatha, and he enjoyed exclusively

the darsan of Ranganātha as the procession entered into the *Nazhi-Kēttān vāsal;* and before entering into the *sanctum sanctorum* the King sang while the Queen danced to the music, quite besides themselves in the holy presence. Those days are over, the Lord now enjoys a special Veena performance by the staff player, who is an expert and a devotee, in the presence of a select few who are permitted for this worship.

The Car Festivals:

There are besides two car festivals during the month of *Thai* (January) and *Chithrai* (April) on a large scale, and also the Go-ratham in February-March. During the Chithrai festival in April, Ranganatha halts at the Sesha Rayar Mantapa which is for the āsthana festival. The Ekantha Sevai **(ஏகாந்த சேவை)** for the Lord takes place on the 6th to 9th day of the *Rāppatthu,* as the deity returns to his sanctum in the night after the festivities.

The Theppam Festival:

The Theppam festival comes in Māsi (March) and is a grand spectacle to see the deity in the decorated float lit completely with brilliant electrical lamps. It is a sight not to be missed.

Thulukka Nachiyar:

Particular mention has to be made here, of the Moslem devotee of Sri Ranganātha: Sultani, also known as *Thulukka Nachiyar,* the daughter of a Padusha of Delhi. Her sanctum in the sixth court, ornamented in Mohammadan style, contains her painting in fresco, and every morning Sri Ranga natha and the Muslim devotee are given offerings of wheat cakes (Rotti) and butter, green gram, cold milk, and sugar which are typical of a Muslim breakfast—*Chotta hazari* with *pan-supari,* the betel leaves smeared with chunam on the frontal side as is done by Muslims. Sri Ranganatha wears a Muslim Kaili during the *Tirumanjanams.* The devotee also

receives a special *Kaithala-sevai Darsan* (*கைத்தல சேவை தரிசனம்*) as when the Lord enters this Mantapa, during the ten days of Pagalpattu festival.

In view of the event, it is related that the Pādusha gave the temple a Jaghir of 57 villages, and in the days of the Nawabs themselves the Government took them away for a annual payment of Rs. 50,000/, and later the sum was reduced to Rs, 40,000/, and during the British period the amount was still further reduced to a *Mohini* allowance of Rs. 35,000/- which is continued to this day.

Another of such devotees was *Chola-Kula-Valli*, the daughter of the Chola King *Nanda* who ruled the Chola Kingdom from his capital at Uraiyoor. He was of the dynasty of Dharma Varma, and finding that the Princess would have set her heart on Lord Ranganātha, gave her away in marriage to the Lord, along with a royal bounty of wealth as her marriage portion. The bride was taken to the sacred precincts and she attained beatitude. The Chola in religious devotion gave all his wealth to the Lord and constructed the holy sanctum sanctorum, the *Tirumamani mantapa*, reconstructed the gopurams and the temple walls.

Accounts relating to this Chola devotee find mention in *Nisulapuri Mahatmyam*, *Divya suri-charitha*, *Lakshmi-kavya* and *Rangaraja charita bhanam*.

The Temple administration

The Hindu rulers before the Nawabs, the Mohammadan ruler Nawab Wallajah, and the Christian Directors of the East India Company till 1842, administered the management of this temple. After that, for about two decades, the institution was placed under private management; and thereafter under a Statutory Committee. The affairs of the temple are now being run according to a scheme of administration framed by the *Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Board* in B.O. No. 675 of 2—3—1942, by a Board of Trustees.

A fixed allowance of Rs. 35,000/- styled the "Mohini" (in view of the extensive and valuable landed endowments

of the Devasthanam) resumed by Government, and the votive offerings from all parts of India aggregating in all to about five lakhs and Thirty Nine thousands of Rupees, form the income of this important religious institution. A study of the temple inscriptions on stone and on copper plates, the Hindivi list of fasli 1326, and the list of villages from which the Mohini amount is still drawn, leads to the conclusion that 92 villages formed the Endowments of the Devasthanam in the days of the Nayak Sovereignty of the South, and that the whole, or later, part of the income of such villages, were paid by successive sovereign powers to the *Devasthanam* for the maintenance of the worship according to established rituals and immemorial usage, and for repairs to the temple buildings.

News and Notes

TAGORE IN INDIAN LANGUAGES

The Sahitya Akademi has made available to readers in all Indian languages a comprehensive selection of Tagore's writings, representing the entire range of his versatile genius. The original Bengali text is also now made available for the first time in Devanagari script. In this series, 101 select poems of Tagore entitled *Ekottarsati*, 500 songs entitled *Gita Panchasati*, two novels: *Chokher Bali* and *Gora*, Tagore's select writings for children entitled *Bala Sahitya*, the first of the two volumes of plays, *Natya Saptak*, comprising *Visarjan*, *Chitrangada* and *Chirakumar Sabha* have been published so far. The remaining volumes listed below, are in press: *Ekavimsati* (21 short stories); *Yogayog* (novel); *Natya Saptak*, Vol. II, covering the plays *Raja*, *Dak Char*, *Muktadhara* and *Rakta Karabi*; and two volumes of *Nibandhamala*, the first one consisting of select religious, philosophic, educational, social and political essays and the second of other prose-writings including essays on literary themes, belles-letters, auto-biographical writings, travelogues and letters.

Besides these editions in Devanagari script, translations of the above volumes have been published in the following languages:

1. 101 poems: in Gujarati, Malayalam, Marathi, Punjabi, Sindhi, *TAMIL*, Telugu, and Urdu. A further selection of these poems has been published in Tibetan also.
2. 21 short stories: in Assamese, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi and *Tamil*.
3. *Chokher Bali*: in English (entitled *Binodini*), Hindi, Kashmiri, Marathi, Punjabi and *Tamil*.

4. *Gora :* in Hindi, Malayalam, Marathi, Punjabi, Telugu and Urdu.

5. *Yogayog* : in Assamese, Hindi, Malayalam, Marathi Punjabi, Sindhi, Telugu and Urdu.

6. Volume I of the Plays in Assamese, Gujarati, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, Punjabi, *TAMIL* and Urdu.

7. Volumes II of the Plays in Hindi, Malayalam, Marathi and *TAMIL.*

8. Volume I of the Essays in Gujarati, Hindi and Malayalam.

9. Volume II of the Essays in Kannada and Telugu.

10. Tagore's writings for children in *TAMIL.*

The remaining volumes are in various stages of preparation. Special Homage Volumes under the title of *Ravindrapaharam* in Malayalam and Ravindranath Tagore-*Vazhkaiyum Kavitaiyum* in Tamil have also been published.

—*Sahitya Akademi, May 1964, No. 5 page 3.*

THE COMMON HERITAGE

From the introduction to the *History of Bengali Literature* by Dr. Sukumar Sen, 14th November, 1959 :

" It was a happy idea of the Sahitya Akademi to organise the publication of *historical studies of the literatures of our various languages in* India. One of the principal functions of the Sahitya Akademi is to encourage all these great languages of India and to bring them closer to each other. Their roots and inspiration have been much the same and the mental climate in which they have grown up has been similar. All of them have also faced the same type of impact from Western thought and influence. Even the languages of

Southern India, with their different origins, have grown up in similar conditions. It may, therefore, be said that each of these great languages is not merely the language of a part of India, but is essentially a language of India, representing the thought and culture and development of this country in its manifold forms.

"It may not be possible for many of us to have direct acquaintances with the literatures of our various languages. But it is certainly desirable that every person of India who claims to be educated should know something about languages other than his own. He should be acquainted with the classics and the famous books written in those languages and thus imbibe into his being the broad and many-sided bases of India's culture.

" In order to help in this process, the Sahitya Akademi has been bringing out translations of well-known books from cach of our languages into others and is sponsoring these histories of Indian literatures. The Akademi is thus widening and deepening the basis of our cultural knowledge and making people realise the essential unity of India's thought and literary background."

—*Sahitya Akademı, July 1964, No. 7 page 4.*

ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE

(Continued from inside front cover)

OTHER MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNING COUNCIL

Mr. P. Alalasundaran Chettiar
„ C. Amritaganesan
„ Anbu Ganapathy
„ S. Arumuga Mudaliar
„ R. Balakrishnan
Rev. P. Ceyrac, S.J.
Mr. S. Chellaswamy
Dr. A. Chidambaranatha Chettiar
„ V. A. Devasenapathi
Mr. M. M. Ghani
„ S. Maharaja Pillai
„ O. RM. M. SP. SV. M. Meyappa Chettiar
„ C. A. Mohamed Ibrahim
„ A. M. M. Murugappa Chettiar
Dr. B. Natarajan, M.L.A.
„ K. K. Pillai
Mr. A. Palaniswamy
„ V. P. Raman
„ L. P. K. R. Ramanathan Chettiar
„ S. Ramaswami Konar
„ V. Shanmugasundaram
„ T. K. Shanmugam
„ A. Subbiah
„ P. M. Sundaram
„ V. Sundaramurthi Mudaliar
„ V. S. Thyagaraja Mudaliar
„ P. Thirugnanasambandam

Regd. No. R.N. 8253/57

TAMIL CULTURE

Subscriptions, advertisements, and remittances should be addressed to: The Hony. Treasurer, *Tamil Culture*, 13/11, Jeremiah Road, Madras-7.

Subscriptions are best remitted in the form of crossed Postal orders or cheques or Bank drafts *payable in India* drawn in favour of *Tamil Culture*. Cheques not drawn on a Bank in Madras should include the Bank's collecting commission of 50 paise. V. P. P. charges are extra.

Subscriptions and remittances may also be remitted to:

CEYLON: Individual subscribers may send P.O.s or M.O.s or Unesco Book coupons cashable in Madras.

MALAYA: Manager, c/o Dept. of Indian Studies,
University of Malaya,
Kuala Lumpur, Malaya.

Rates of Subscription (effective from 1963):

	India, Ceylon, Burma	Malaya	U. K.	U. S. A. & other countries
Annual	Rs. 10	M $ 10/-	Sh. 15	U. S. $ 2·50 or its equivalent
Single Copy	Rs. 3	M $ 3/-	Sh. 6	U. S. $ 0·75

As back numbers are usually sold out, we are unable to guarantee supply of back numbers to subscribers who send their subscriptions for any year after one or more issues for that year are published. In such cases we can supply only subsequent issues of the year at single copy rates. Subscribers are therefore requested to send their subscription, new or renewals, to reach us bv 31st January.

Literary communications, Exchange, and Books for review should be addressed to the Chief Editor, *Tamil Culture* 13/11 Jeremiah Road, Vepery, Madras-7.

To secure their return, if not accepted, the Mss. offered for publication should be accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope. The Editor does not take any responsibility for Mss. that may be lost. Mss. should be typewritten and sent in duplicate to facilitate printing.

The expression of individual views by contributors or reviewers does not imply editorial endorsement.

Published by Mr. C. Amritaganesan for Academy of Tamil Culture, Madras-7 and Printed at
St. Joseph's Industrial School Press, Tiruchirappalli-1

TAMIL CULTURE

Vol. XI - 1964

தனிநாயகம் அடிகளார்



Pub No : 837
ISBN : 978-93-85165-48-1
TAMIL CULTURE Vol. XI - 1964
300.00